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A True, Exact and Impartial

HISTORY

Of the Horrid and Deteſtable

Plots and Conſpiracies,

Contrived and carried on by Papiſts, and other wicked Perſons, for the Compaſſing the Death and Deſtruction of his Sacred Majeſty,

King *WILLIAM* III.

And introducing Popery and Slavery, by an Invaſion from *France*. With the manner how it was miraculouſly Diſcovered, when ripe to be put in Execution.

Alſo, an Account of the Tryals, Speeches, Confeſſions and Executions of thoſe that have ſuffered for it; with their Characters, from the firſt of them to Sir *John Fenwick*, who was Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, on an Act of Attainder; with the Paper he left behind him: And many other things worthy of particular Remark, for the Information of the preſent and future Ages.

The Second Edition, with Additions.

London: Printed for *William Major*, Bookſeller, in *Newport*, near *Launceſton*, in *Cornwal*. 1697.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

READER,

IN this ſmall Book, you will find ſo well a compacted, and compleat Hiſtory of the late Horrid Plot and Conſpiracy, againſt the Life of our moſt gracious King, &c. that numerous Books, or Papers can not furniſh you with the like; nor indeed is there any thing publick, comparable to it, in giving ſuch ample Satisfaction to all ſorts of People.

Here you may ſee, when we were at the very brink of Ruin, and the moſt precious Life in the World was to have fallen a Sacrifice by villainous

Hands, how miraculously Providence interposed, and brought us a famous Rescue, by a timely Discovery of their wicked Practices, and Purposes, defeating all in a Moment, as I may term it, that they had been long contriving at much Cost, and restless Endeavours, to bring it about, turning the Mischief on their Heads that had brooded it, to their own Shame and Confusion, to the Scandal of the—— Court, where it was contrived, and the exemplary Punishment of many of the Conspirators, who, dying as Traytors, justly Condemned, have owned their Guilt, and committed it under their own Hands as a lasting Stain on them to all Posterity; so that, though some Persons disaffected to their Native Country, and particularly to the present Government may evade it, yet in all points it has been fully made out, and appeares so plain and evident, that it has passed all Contradiction, and at last, put Gain-sayers to silence: Insomuch, that there is now no Man in his right

right Senſes, but concludes, and firmly believes it to be true, not only in the general, but in its particular Branches; villainouſly levelled, not only at the Life of the King, but to procure the Deſſolation and Miſery of Three flouriſhing Kingdoms, by bringing in a mercileſs Enemy, whoſe Cruelties their Neighbour-Countries have too ſadly felt, as far as Fire and Sword, puſhed on by many apparent Treacheries, and breach of Oaths, and Leagues could carry them; for which great Deliverance, as often as it comes to our remembrance, we ought to return infinite Thanks to Almighty God, who has ſo openly declared himſelf for us: And let our Childrens Children know what a mighty Salvation he has wrought for us; and that the Memory of it might be continued to Poſterity, is one main End of Writing this Book, to leave it on Record for Hiſtorians to build on, when, with the Actions of future Times, they come to enlarge the Chronicles of theſe Kingdoms.

doms. And ſo, not doubting but it will continue to prove ſatisfactory to all true Engliſh-*Men, as an Impartial Account of this remakable Tranſaction, I ſhall cloſe this Preface with my earneſt Wiſhes, That ſo great a Wickedneſs may never again enter into the Hearts of any that profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, but that the miſerable Ends and Diſaſters of ſuch as I ſhall herein have occaſion to mention, may ſtand as a Sea-mark to warn others from the like Practices, leſt they ſplit on the ſame fatal Rocks.*

VALE.

A

A N

Impartial Hiſtory

OF THE

Plots and Conſpiracies

Againſt the

L I F E

O F

His Sacred MAJESTY,

King *William* III.

IT plainly appears, this deteſted Plot and Conſpiracy againſt His *Majeſty's* Sacred Life, and to Subjugate theſe Kingdoms under the Tyranny of a *French* Power, has been of conſiderable ſtanding, carried on by Indefatigable Endeavours, and vaſt Expence, as well in *Ireland* as in *England*; we cannot forget that in the Year 1692, the

late King *James*, attended by divers of the *French*, and some *English* Nobility, intended to have Invaded *England*; and to that purpose, between 11 and 1200 *French* Horse and Foot were drawn down to the Sea-Ports of *Normandy* and *Britain*, where Ships were gathering to embark them; but by the singular Providence of Almighty God, by and with the Vigilance of Admiral *Russel*, their Fleets where hindered from joyning, and on the 18th of *May*, he gave a fatal Defeat to that Squadron of Men of War, commanded by Monsieur *Tourville*, sinking five or six in the Fight, and burning about 20 more in *Cape d' Wich*, *La Hegue*, and other Bays and Ports on the Coast of *France*: and then it appeared that the *French* Admiral had some Assurance from his Master, and the late King, that part of our Fleet would Revolt, as soon as the Fight was begun; but the Loyalty of the Commanders deceived him; and the late King, who was to have Embarqued and Transported his Forces to *England*, under the Favour of this Engagement, in the bad Success being utterly disappointed by the Hand of Providence, made them consider they could not bring their Purposes about by force, having by this time heard how the generality of the People of *England* where cordially affected to King *William*, whom God had made an Instrument in his Hand, for their Deliverance from *Popery* and *Slavery*, they were not ignorant of the Joy they expressed for the Victory and Defeat of

the

the designed Invasion, and therefore many Consults were held, how to bring it about by a mean and base Treachery.

There had been something of this kind on foot the Year before, for it was concluded, whilst King *William* lived, the Crown of *England* was secured to him in his Peoples Love, as well as by the Laws of the Land, but there had been no great Progress made in the Design, tho the Marquess of *Louvois*, the *French* King's Secretary, and Favourite, had approved it, and been at charge to encourage Villains to Assassinate the Life of a Prince, whom he durst not face in the Field; a Prince who shrinks not from his Foes, but bravely expose himself in the Fronts of his Battles, and dares the utmost Fury of his Enemies. However, *Louvois* being dead, that wicked Treachery and Conspiracy against the Life of the best of Kings, was revived. The Marquess of *Barbessieux*, who enjoyed his deceased Father's Place of Secretary of State, to his lasting Infamy, appearing bare-faced in it, procuring Assassins, though no doubt he acted by the Dictates of Greater than himself: And since this seems linked to the present detestable Conspiracy, I shall clear the way as I proceed, in giving the Reader an account of it, before I come to the other, though, no doubt, of a piece, their first Movers being the same.

As a wicked Instrument to this Purpose, one Sir *Bartholomew Linier*, Kt. and Sieur *De Grandville* was pitched on: This Man being

of a desperate Fortune, was tempted for present Rewards, and larger Promises, to take all advantages to destroy the most precious Life in the World, but Heaven prevented so great a Mischief to almost all *Europe*, which is so nearly interested in His Majesty's Preservation. *Grandville* no sooner embark'd in this pernitious Design, but he was inform'd, That one *Anthony Dumont* had the Year before been engaged in it, but now retired to *Hannover*, whither *Grandville* often writ to him, to engage with him, and watch all Opportunities this Campaign; and one *Leefdale* coming to *Paris* about that time, he made him acquainted with it, who shewed a willingness to be concerned in it, but soon after, by a Letter, gave notice of it to his Friends in *Holland*, that they might inform the King of it; and the like Discovery was made by *Dumont*, to the Duke of *Zell*, who acquainted His Majesty with it all out the same time he received the other account; thus an early Providence appeared in his Majesty's Protection.

Whilst these things happened, *Grandville* appointed *Dumont* to stay at *Oden*, in the Country of *Ravestyn*, and himself set out from *Paris* in the Company of *Leefdale*, and passing through *Brussels*, he communicated the Conspiracy to one *Amours*, who had been a Servant to *Leefdale*'s Father; from thence they went to *Antwerp*, and so to *Eindhoven*, where *Grandville* was seized and carried Prisoner to *Bois le Duc*; his Majesty directing Examinations

tions to be taken there: In brief, waving tedious Circumstances, *Leesdale* declared, *Grandville* had told him the King of *Great Britain* was looked on as the only Obstacle to the *French* King's Designs; that he had sent *Dumont* 200 Pistols to keep him firm to the business, and that he had sent him 10 Ducats from *Brussels*, by a Bill of Exchange; that whilst they were at *Mons*, a Report being there spread of some disorders that were risen in *Scotland*, which would oblige His Majesty to cross the Seas again, *Grandville* fearing it might happen before he could execute his Design, spoke to *Leesdale* in these words, *viz. Dear Friend, we are like to lose our Fortunes, I beg of you we may go away immediately.*

John D'Anours being examined, said, That *Grandville* told him at *Brussels*, he had great business to do, which had miscarried the last Year; and he asked him if he had any thing to say to the King? (meaning the King of *England*:) *Yes*, (said he) *to break his Neck.* Then he represented to him the difficulty that might attend such an Undertaking, to which he reply'd, *I have given my Word to Monsieur* Barbesieux, *and I'll do it.* And that going one Day with *Grandville* and *Leesdale* by the Jesuits Church at *Brussels*, *Grandville* said, *Let us go in and say a* Pater noster, *that God would bless our Undertakings*; and accordingly went into the Church. And *Dumont* being afterward Examined, own'd the Fact in all its Circumstances, *viz.* That Madam *Maintenon*

teron was acquainted with the Design, and that *Grandville*, in one of his Letters sent to him, said, *He would accomplish his Design, by the means of Madam* Maintenon: That he told him if the Business succeeded, he should have an ample Recompence, even to be a Duke. That whilst the Deponent was at *Hanover*, he communicated the Design to Monsieur *Bedal*, alias *Hasfeld*, the *French* King's Minister in that Court, who approved it, saying, *It would be a very good Business, if it could be brought to pass*; shewing him likewise Copies of Letters he had writ to *Barbesieux* and *Grandville*, and the Answers he received from them, whereupon he lent him fifty Crowns, &c.

At last *Grandville* being examined, and perceiving the Matter was discovered, and his own Letters could be produced against him, as Evidence to Convict him, he ingeniously confessed all the Circumstances of the Design, as they are particularized in these Sentences: After which, being brought to the Army in *Flanders*, he was put on his Tryal before the Grand Court-Martial of General Officers, where he appeared several times with the Witnesses before named, who not only persisted in what they had already deposed, but added many other Paticulars and Circumstances, of which there were but very few *Grandville* did not acknowledge to be true freely, without so much as naming the Rack to him, either before or after Sentence.

During

During his Imprisonment, he sent two Petitions to His Majesty, acknowledging his Guilt, and that he acted by the Order of Monsieur *Barbeseux* and *Chamlais*, confessing, that Conspiring against a Crowned Head, was worthy of Death. The Judges after this, having met several times, gave Sentence, which in brief was this, the Evidence being before summed up,

WHereas this Horrid Design is contrary to to the Law of God, of Nature, and of Nations, and ought for the deterring of Others from the like Machinations, to be punished with the greatest Severity: the said Court-Martial, having with mature deliberation examined and considered the whole matter, have thought fit to judge and declare, as they do hereby declare, The Prisoner to be guilty of High-Treason, and do Condemn him to be Drawn on a Sledge to the place of Execution, there to be Hanged on a Gallows, cut down before he be Dead, his Body to be opened, and his Bowels taken out and burnt, his Head to be set upon a Pole, his Body to be quartered, and the four Quarters to be hung up where his Majesty shall think fit; and do further declare, all his Estate to be Confiscated, and Condemn him to bear the Charge and Cost of his Tryal. Given and pronounced in the Head Quarters of the Army, under the Command of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, by the Earl of *Athlone*, General of the Horse, President; the Lieutenant-General *Van Scravenmore*, and Lieutenant-General *Talmash*,

the Marquess *de la Forest*, the Heer *Van Weede*, Count *Noyelles*, the Heer *Zobel*, Major-Generals, and the Brigadiers *Churchill* and *Ramsey*, *Cornelious Van Wou*, and *Richard Uthwayt*, Judges Advocates, assisting at *Lembeck*, the 11*th* of *August* 1692.

In pursuance of this Sentence the Chevalier *Grandville* was Executed in the Camp the 13th of *August*. All he said at the place of Execution, was to Recommend himself to the Prayers of those that were present; but the same Morning before he went to be Executed, he wrote a Letter, *viz.*

From the Camp at *Hall*, *August* 13*th*, 1692.

Madam,

I *Pray you go to the Archbishop of* Rheimes, *with Monsieur* Jourdvill, *and let the Archbishop know, that it costs me my Life for obeying the Orders of Monsieur* Barbeleux; *which is the Favour desired of you by your Servant,*

D. Grandville.

Postscript.

Speak to the Marquess D' Arfey, *that he take care I be prayed for.*

This was directed to Madam *Jury*, in *Trevel-street*, against the Street of the two Crowns near the Hostel of *Soissons*, in *Paris*.

Upon the occasion of this Letter, it will not be improper to take notice of a Passage that happened

happened some days before his Condemnation, since it has a great agreement with the said Letter, and might serve to explain it if it wanted any clearer Light, and is as follows:

One discourling with him in Prison, and observing he sought to justifie himself upon the Orders he had received from Monsieur *Barbesieux*, told him, Tho' that was in itself a very weak Excuse for being engaged in a base Action, yet it might prove so much the worse, as that it was like enough Monsieur *Barbesieux* would disown that he gave any such Orders, or that he was any ways concerned with him in a business of this nature. To which *Grandville* earnestly reply'd, *Let him deny what he pleases, yet if I were put upon it I would make it appear very plain, for I have an Original Paper under his own Hand, which I have left with a Friend of mine, who will not part with it to any but my self, and no Body else knows with whom I have entrusted it.*

Thus we see plainly what kind of Instruments the Court of *France* use in their detestable Designs and Hellish Practices; nay, so far were these bloody-minded Miscreants indulged and encouraged, that it appears on good Grounds they were to be assisted by Order from Court, with a Party to bring them off, so they succeeded in the intended Assassination. The manner agreed on to do it, was thus: That when the King should Ride along the Lines, or shou'd go to take a View, or when the the Army should decamp, *Dumont* should lie in Ambuscade, and that

when His Majeſty ſhould paſs within 100 Paces of him, he ſhould fire; then one *Charlis*, to whom notice was to be given before of the time, ſhould be with 3000 Horſe at the Duke of *Luxemburg*'s grand Guard, and immediately advancing bring him off, though it ſeems they not greatly valued him, this appearing only to be a Blind to puſh him on in his fool-hardineſs; and if he could have anſwered their Deſign, they declared among themſelves, it little mattered whither he came off, or were taken: And it further appears the Duke of *Luxemburg* had Orders from the Secretary to ſpare a Party of Horſe on this *Occaſion*, to what number ſhould be required, and to draw near with his other Troops to ſupport them, and favour their Retreat. But their Malice and Thirſt of Blood was diſappointed by a happy Providence, and turned to their own ſhame, rendring the Contrivers deteſtable in the Eyes of all Nations; for the Plot diſcovered, the Campaign ended, and the Troops ordered into Winter-Quarters, His Majeſty returned to *England* in ſafety to the great Joy of his People; in this Buſineſs Colloner *Parker*, an *Engliſhman*, was deeply concerned, who coming afterward over, was commited to the Tower of *London*, for High-Treaſon, but by the help of 300 Pounds, 100 of which was advanced by Sir *John Friend*, he found means to Eſcape. Though *Grandville* was dead, they reſolved to keep their Barbarous Deſign alive with ſome, altering their Meaſures, ſo that at laſt it came

to a Reſult, the Scene of the Project ſhould be laid in *England*, ſeeing in *Flanders* Providence had diſappointed them; and it was obſerved ſoon after there was a Report, ſuppoſed purpoſely ſpread abroad to favour their coming over, that ſuch as ſerved the late King at St. *Germains*, where hardly uſed, many diſcharged upon the account of being *Proteſtants*, and others, for want of their Salliaries (the late King being bare of Money) had nothing to ſubſiſt on, and ſo out of pure neceſſity, was forced to ſhift for themſelves; and indeed it appears ſeveral came by ſtealth into *England*, without Leave obtained to return after they had been in an Enemy's Country; yet being fearful, and not well knowing how to truſt each other, they thought it good to expect Orders, or to take more mature Deliberation in ſo weighty a Matter, full of danger and hazard in all its Circumſtances; this, and the *French* King's being hard preſſed in *Flanders*, made the Deſign for a time go ſlowly on, but in Winter laſt was a Twelvemonth, they began to puſh on their Nefarious Deſigns, when as the Conſpirators had ſeveral Meetings to Contrive, Conſult and Imagine the Death of the King, in *January*, *February* and *March*; but they could not then agree on ſuch Methods as they thought expedient, which made them defer it till after the Campaign, when His Majeſty returned to *England* in Triumph, having taken the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Namur*, in the ſight of an Army of 100000 *French*

French, Commanded by the Duke *D' Villeroy*. In the mean while the Creatures of *France* were no ways idle, and several Consultations were held, and Meetings had to concert their Measures, for the accomplishing their Wishes, though in the end they prospered not. It seems that Collonel *Parker* was the first Tool, as far as yet is come to light, in this tottering Machine to encourage the Bigots in *England*, as he had laboured to do many in *France*; and to order affairs here, come over, having proposed it to one *de la Rue* in *France*, and no doubt many others, but he declined it at St. *Germains*, where the late King had usually kept his Court, saying, *He would propose it to the Lord* Melfort, Secretary of State to the said late King *James*, which he did, and requested of him, *Whether he thought it convenient to go over for* England, *as Collonel* Parker *had desired him?* But his Advice at that time was contrary to his present crossing the Seas, but ordered him to stay a while, saying, *There was something a doing that would please him*; but nothing being done, he came for *England*, Coll. *Parker* some time before being gone, *viz.* a little before the Victory obtained over the *French* at Sea, and the burning their Ships at *La Hogue*, &c. for then, as is said, an Invasion was intended, which is supposed the thing *Melfort* meant was a doing, that would be so pleasing; but in that the Elements fought against them, many of their Transport-Ships were broken, and their Men of War disabled, by loss of

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Masts, and other Accedents, whereby they found an entire Disappointment in that their particular Design of an Invasion, as through Miraculous Providence they have hither to done in all others, which in the Sequel will appear, and in it the Goodness of a Gracious and Merciful God, to whom we and our Posterity ought to return continual Praise and Thanksgiving for the happiness and freedom we are at present in possession of, and they are in a fair prospect of enjoying. But to return nearer to the Subject matter:

The Measures of the Court of *France* being broken in such like Disappointments, and those of lesser moment, *viz.* the refusal of some they relied on, to engage in so pernicious a Design, full of Danger and Uncertainty, they drove not on *Jehu* like, as before, but laid their Councils more secret, and as they thought, their Designs deep enough, yet in many things they might have perceived their Wheels of the Expedition they intended, was taken off by many singular Instances, as will appear.

Now by this time divers were prepared to struggle against the present Government, and labour (if possible they could) to Subvert it; but though Orders were taken for raising Horse and many other things, Sir *John Friend*, and Sir *William Perkins*, being particularly concerned in this Point, having actually Men in Pay, or at least such as they allowed Subsistance-Mony, to be in a readiness, when they should be required, the former having a

Commission

Commiſſion for a Regiment of Horſe, under the late King's Hand, and the latter to raiſe a Troop; yet obſerving the good Affections of the People of *England*, to K. *William* in general, and that their was a bleſſed Harmony in Agreement, between him and his Parliament; it ſeems they doubted their own Weakneſs, or the little Aſſiſtance they could expect at Home, if they raiſed a Rebellion, which they called Levying of War, for which they denied not there was a Commiſſion from the late King, ſo that at the *Old King's Head* Tavern, in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*, it was particularly agreed on in Conſult, where were preſent ſome of conſiderable Quality, that without Forreign Forces they found themſelves in no condition of acting; and therefore in that Debate it was agreed, to ſend *Charnock* to *France*, and when he ſhould come to the Speech of the late King, he ſhould aſſure him of their *Readineſs*, and to deſire him to prevail with the *French* King to furniſh and ſend over 8000 Foot, 1000 Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons, and that the Chief of the Conſpirators, eſpecially as for Ability, would aſſuredly meet him where-ever he ſhould Land with thoſe Forces with 2000 Horſe, which were to be raiſed among them, and furniſhed with Arms, and other Warlike Habiliments; for indeed Sir *John Friend's* Zeal for the Cauſe, tho' againſt the Religion he pretended to profeſs, had puſhed him ſo forward in the Buſineſs, that he had named and prepared divers Officers, whoſe Names I ſhall have occaſion to mention when

when I come to ſome particulars of his Tryal, and though *Carnock* undertook this Meſſage, yet not haſtily entering upon it, he met them about a Week after, and ſhewed an unwillingneſs to undertake ſuch an Errand, unleſs he was again aſſured from them that they continued the Reſolution they had taken up, that the late King might poſitively rely on it, otherwiſe he ſeemed to term it a fooliſh Errand; inſinuating as if he ſhould get Diſgrace by it: However, ſome time being taken to conſider, about a Week after they met at Mrs. *Montjoy's* Tavern, and *Charnock* was earneſt to know whether they did ſtill agree to what they had propoſed, in order to their levying Forces, ſo that he might not go on this Errand, witout a full Aſſurance; they did all agree to aſſure the late King that they would aſſiſt him upon his Landing, ſo be that any convenient or timely notice was given them of it, as to when and where he would Land; and further, they deſired he would make all the Expedition he could.

This Meeting was in *May* or *June*, 1695, at a time when they thought their greateſt Advantage might be, for then His Majeſty was gone to *Flanders*, and the Kingdom was very much drained of the Regular Troops to oppoſe the Torrent of the *French* in thoſe Countries, and indeed they ſignalized their Valour to that degree, againſt the Diſturbers of *Chriſtendom*, that His Majeſty forgot not to take notice of it to their high Commendation in his Speech to the Parliament on his

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Return: Besides this, our Fleet was divided, a great part of the Capital Ships, being on the Coast of *Spain*, and by their Influence put a stop to the Progress of the Enemy's Arms in *Catalonia*, blocking up the *Toulon* Fleet, and taking many rich Prizes; however, this was a time thought most convenient by the Conspirators, but they were again disappointed by Delays; yet though their Messenger went over with full Instructions, meeting with an interrupted Passage, such care had Heaven of the Safety of this Nation, that he found things unprepared, for after some attendance, having Admittance to the late King's Presence, and delivering from point to point what was given him in charge of the measures that had been taken here, and in what readiness they were to assist him, if he Landed: He reply'd, That he thanked them for their kindness to assist him, and their readiness therein, but at that time the *French* King could not spare any Men; for indeed he was hardly pressed on his Frontiers in *Flanders*, on the *Rhine*, &c. so that all he could do, was to make a defensive War; in which nevertheless he lost many Troops, and some deserted, great want of Provisions and other Necessaries having intruded into his Armies. So that *Charnock* returning with his Answer, fruitless to their Expectation, they seemed much abashed; but, as it since appears, resolved not to give over the Design: However, for that time it could not be brought about in all their Judgments, therefore it was put off till Winter by this

this Cabal, though at the same time there were others on foot, yet not enforced to the pernicious height they came to, till a little after.

Many desperate Persons were lurking about Town ready to engage in what ever Design should offer, wherein they might imagine they could mend their broken Fortunes; and to these a fit Instrument was sent about *January* last, *viz.* Sir *George Barkley*, Lieutenant of the Guards to the late K. in *France*, with Instructions to incite them to revive and go on in their Attempts to Assassinate His Majesty, and for his Assistance there were sent over before his coming and after, about 20 Troopers, that did or had belonged to his Master's Guards in *France*; and to encourage other disaffected Persons to engage in the Conspiracy against the Life of King *William*, he brought over a pretended Authority to justifie them, *viz.* A Commission from the late King, as he affirmed to them, and soon communicated his Design to several of them, as to Mr. *Charnock*, Capt. *Porter* and Sir *William Perkins*; the Tennor of the Commission was general, and directed to all his Loving Subjects, to raise and levy War against the Pr. of *Orange*, and his Adherents, and to seize all Forts and Castles, *&c.* which infers, it was to levy War against the Person of King *William*, for that Party stiled him in most of their Meetings only Prince of *Orange*, and to levy War against his Person, can bear no other reasonable Construction,

Construction, but that they design'd to Assassinate his Sacred Person, or otherways to take him out of the World.

In order to accomplish and bring about the Conspiracy, there were several Meetings, sometimes at Capt. *Porter*'s Lodgings, other times at the *Nag's-head* in *Covent-garden*, and at the *Sun* in the *Strand*, where several Ways and Methods were propos'd to accomplish their *Design*, and several Persons, as a Committee from their Body, were appointed to go and view the Ground, where most conveniently the King's Person might be assaulted, of which number were *Edward King*, Capt. *Porter*, and one *Knightley*. And the day before they went, there was another meeting, wherein they came to a firm resolve, That they should go and view it; and accordingly they did go to take particular notice of the Places the King passed usually, when he went a Hunting to divert himself; and after that, at *Brentford* they went over to *Richmond*, and at length concluded on a place in a narrow Lane, between *Brentford* and *Turnham-Green*, where but few of the Guards could ride a-breast: and, according to appointment, coming back in the Evening, they found their Company at the *Nag's-head* Tavern, *viz.* Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *George Barkley*, Mr. *Charnock*, and others; giving them an exact account of the Premises, and their Opinions thereon; so that it was resolv'd the wicked Design should be put in practice in that place their Messengers had ap-

approv'd of, and the manner thus, *viz.*

That Sir *George Barkley*, with ſeven or eight choſen out of the reſt, were to attack the King's Coach, and Aſſaſſinate him, whilſt two other Parties attack'd the Guards, their number being to be forty or upwards: And the firſt time they came to a Reſolution to put this in execution, was on the 15th of *February*, 1695, on a *Saturday*, the day the King uſually went a Hunting; but by an extraordinary Providence it happen'd he did not go abroad that day. It was further contriv'd, to make ſure of what they intended, That there ſhould be two Perſons, whom they term'd Orderly Men, *viz. Chambers*, and *Durance* a *Fleming*, placed at *Kenſington*, to give ſpeedy notice to the Conſpirators, when the King went abroad: And after that, the latter of theſe was order'd to take notice of thoſe places that were moſt convenient for the lodging and placing their Men two or three in a Houſe, the leſs to be taken notice of the day they were to accompliſh their Deſign.

The Conſpirators being diſappointed *Feb.* the 15th, by reaſon of the King's not going abroad, it was agreed it ſhould be done the *Saturday* following, Horſe and Arms being prepar'd for the greater part of them, and ſome that were not at theſe Conſults, but in Pay, kept cloſe, and rarely ſtirred abroad; ſo that on the *Friday* following, another Meeting was had at the *Magpie* in *Covent garden*, and there they were in doubt,

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by reason of the former Disappointment, there was some Discovery, and the *Thing*, as they term'd it, had taken air; but being told, If it had been discover'd, they should not have met there; the greater part seem'd better satisfied, and it gave them, in a probability, new assurance that they were not discover'd, and therefore resolv'd to put their Design in execution the next day; and at this Meeting Capt. *Porter* said, Some of the Horses he had undertaken to provide were fallen lame; whereupon Sir *William Parkins* told him, He could get him a Note to Mr. *Lewis*, Master of the Horse to the Earl of *Peterborow*, for three Horses; and accordingly he sent him the Note to receive them.

On the 22d of *February*, in the morning, they had a meeting according to appointment, and prepar'd things in a readiness, and a great Joy appear'd amongst them, when one of their orderly Men brought them notice the King did go a Hunting that Morning. They supposing now they should be sure to accomplish their Design; and so they order'd for setting out: yet Providence had thrust in between them and the intended Mischief, and all on a sudden they were dashed and startled into new Frights, when their other Orderly Man gave notice, about Twelve of the Clock, the King's going was put off; that the Coaches were come back, and the Horses all of a Foam; then indeed, as God had order'd it, the Discovery was made,

made, and they nearly apprehending it to be done dispersed in great Frights, some going into the Country, and others skulking about Town.

Thus, *Reader*, I have briefly shew'd you the two Branches of the Conspiracy, though in a manner they twine in one, as tending to the Overthrow of the Establish'd Government; and the more to be lamented, had it taken effect, in the loss of the best of Kings; for, had it been an open Invasion only, it had been more excusable in an Enemy: But the Foundation of an Invasion being laid on the Assassination of a Noble and Valiant Prince, who never refuses to meet his Enemy in the fair Field of Battel and generous Hostility, renders the whole Design so enormous and execrable, that it must be a lasting Infamy in the Record of Story on the Promoters of it. But having proceeded thus far at Home, give me leave to look a little Abroad, and see what more was doing in *France*, whilst these things were clandestinely working in wicked Minds.

In January last the *French* King held a Council at *Paris*, where the latter Designs are held to have their new Invigoration; it consisted of his most intimate Favourites, but a true Catalogue of their Names is yet wanting; they had notice, it seems, that Five hundred Merchant-Ships were bound to the *Streights*, and a great squadron of Men of War for their Convoy, was going to reinforce Sir *George Rook*, which in a manner,

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they concluded, would thin the Channel of Mariners and Shipping, at leaſt not leave a ſufficient number to have withſtood the conjunct Squadrons of Monſieur *Neſmond* and *Dubart*; the advance of the Spring and calmneſs of the Weather not a little contributing to their Undertaking, they hereupon haſten'd their Preparations for an early Invaſion, having aſſurance from their Complices here, of Aſſiſtance upon their Landing, and hoping the People would generally be in a ferment about the Alteration of the *Coin*. It animated the *French* Court to think this was the Time, or none, to reinſtate the late King *James*. The Uncertainty of Guinea's likewiſe went a great way with them, as alſo the Miſunderſtanding they thought might ariſe between *England* and *Scotland*, on the account of the New *East-India* Company, erected in the latter. But what weighed moſt with the *French* King was, that our Regular Troops were for the greater part in *Flanders*, &c. and few left at Home, and thoſe in remote places, whereby he expected they could make but little oppoſition. Theſe things put together, and deliberately weighed, it came to an Agreement the 6th of *Febr.* and was carried on with all the Secrecy imaginable, that King writing his Diſpatches and Mandates with his own Hand, who, to ſtrengthen his Council in the more weighty approvement of the Deſign, ſent for the Mareſchal *de Boufflers*, a Perſon highly diſguſted the laſt Campaign, as being made

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a Prisoner at the Surrender of the Castle of *Namur*, till his Master did the King of *England* the Justice to restore the Garrisons surpriz'd by the Treachery of the Governours in *Dyxmude* and *Deynse*, and detain'd contrary to the Cartel and Agreement for the Exchange of Prisoners taken on either side in this present War. The Mareschal no sooner arriv'd from *Flanders*, whither he was gone to view the Garrisons, and give necessary Orders for the fortifying and encreasing the number of Soldiers, if he saw fit, but the Design was communicated to him, and what had been debated in Council, who highly approv'd the Undertaking, and heighten'd the *French* King's Conceit, with an Impossibility of its failing to succeed; (yet, by the way, when Man proposes, let him always consider, that it is God who disposes all Affairs in Heaven and Earth.) But to proceed: Upon this and some other Consults of the like nature, the late King *James* was immediately sent for, and acquainted with the important Secret, who so well approved what had been projected, that after some Consideration on the matter, he promis'd to go in Person for the Invasion of *England*, especially when the *French* King assur'd him he never saw a faire prospect of Success in any Undertaking in his Life; so that according to the best accounts we have, the Duke of *Berwick*, [illegible] several of the late King's Servants, [illegible] thought fit to be sent over, to know [illegible] Fathers Friends stood affected,

ed, and what assistance they were able or ready to give him, to prepare things, and forward them for the *favouring* the intended Invasion.

Matters being thus concerted, Orders with an imaginable Secrecy were given out, and carried to the Ports by private Messengers, to hasten the *assembling* and *fitting out* such *Transport-Ships* and Men of War as were *thought* sufficient to be employ'd in this Service. These Orders were obeyed with all the punctuality that could be, and no cost spared; but the Secrecy was the chiefest thing in it: As to the knowledge for what it was intended, and altho' it could not be hid, for such a number of Ships could not be concealed in Docks or Creeks; therefore to blind the Suspicion, and carry it fair, it was industriously given out, *There was no more in it, but that some Knots and Societies of Merchants finding a visible Decay of their Trade, were resolved to employ their Stocks that remained in fitting out Privateers, to make Reprisals in those that had done them the Injury, either in taking their Ships, or withdrawing their Trade from them.* And indeed *France* at that time had in some manner cover'd St. *George*'s Channel, and the Coasts of *Holland* and *England* with their small Privateers, as well to make the World believe that was the *only Design*, as to hinder the Confederates from discovering what was doing in her Ports.

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Upon notice the Tranſport-Ships were ready, and the Soldiers to the number of 20000, almoſt all *French*, and of the beſt Troops, ready to Embark at *Calis*, *Bullen*, *Dunkirk*, &c. the *French King* went on the 7th of *February* to St. *Germains*, where he cauſed to be deliver'd to the *late King* 100000 *Luedores*, deſiring him to haſten his departure, for that all things were in readineſs; and there he took his Leave of him, wiſhing him a proſperous and ſucceſsful Undertaking. He likewiſe aſſured him, at that Farewel, that as ſoon as he had poſted himſelf in *England*, he would ſupply him with more Troops, to inable him to perfect the Undertaking: Whereupon they parted, and the *late King* ſpent the remainder of the day in viſiting divers Grandees, and amongſt others the *Pope*'s *Nuncio*, who pronounced a ſolemn Benediction, on what he was about to enterprize; but, it ſeems, it ſignified in the end no more than Pope *Pius*'s Bleſſing to the *Spaniſh Armado*, who were coming upon the like account, *Anno* 1588.

The next day the *late King* ſet forward in a Calaſh to St. *Dennis*, where he call'd a Publick Notary to take a Regiſter of ſome Jewels he had left in Merchants Hands, as Pledges for Money, to enable him the better to proſecute his *Deſign*. In this time a Servant came, and told him, *His Maſter, the Duke of* Berwick, *was but a little behind*; and about an hour after, the Duke came from *England*, (having been fourteen Days

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abſent, it being the mean while given out, That he was gone to *Catalonia*, and gave an account of his Proceedings, and what Promiſes had been made him; and, to confirm all, produced divers Letters, as is ſaid, from Perſons of Note, both in *Scotland* and *England*, who promiſed to raiſe Forces on his Landing with a *French* Power.

He detained him not, but diſpatched him with all convenient ſpeed to the *French King*, whom he found at *Croſſoy*; and theſe things being communicated, as well by a Verbal Account as by Letters, ſome new Meaſures were taken; and it ſeems a Declaration being *wanting*, in order to diſperſe, for *cajoling* and *flattering* the People of *England*, when the *late King* ſhould land, he cauſed one to be drawn up, printed, and ſent after him, promiſing therein many *fine things*, as a Relaxation from Taxes, perpetual Parliaments, and the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion*.

This being done, the *late King* went to *Montervill*, and from thence to *Calis*, where the Mareſchal *de Boufleurs* met and acquainted him, the Forces were ready, conſiſting of Twenty four Battalions of Foot, Seven Squadrons of Horſe, and Five of Dragoons, and that all things elſe were in a forwardneſs, as Mortars, Field-pieces, and heavy Cannon for Land-Service, Ammunition and Proviſions; but the *Dragoons*, for the ſpeedier paſſage, had Orders to leave their Horſes, and only take their Furniture, as being promiſed

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to be remounted in *England* by the Duke of *Berwick*, who was so confident of the Success of this Business, that he told the *French* King, he scrupled not but within three months he should be sent over by his Father, to give him Thanks in way of Embassy, for all his Kindness to him since he left his Kingdoms. Nor now did the *French* Court labour to keep the intended Invasion longer a Secret, for that King not doubting, because the Wind had been fair, but that his Fleet was put to Sea, signified his Design to all the Foreign Ministers, who resided there, his Intent to form a Descent both on *England* and *Scotland*, to restore the *late King*, or make those Kingdoms the Seat of War, to divert the Arms of the Allies in *Flanders*, &c. telling them moreover, That by this Method he should, past doubt, oblige the Confederates to a speedy Peace; and, That it was morally impossible, bating Wind and Weather, that it could ever miscarry: And indeed things were in a mighty forwardness. The Commanders of the Men of War, who where to Convoy the Transport-Ships, were *Monsieur de Nesmond*, *Gabaret* and *Dubart*: The Conduct of the Land Army was in the Marques *de Bevron Arcourt*, as Chief, and under him *Preconta'* and *Albergoti*, as Mareschals *de Camp* and for Brigadeers, viz. The Duke *de Humieres*, *Monsieur de Monray*, beside Subalternates, and *Lapara* the chief Engineer, and the Men being Embarked, the Day before

it was discovered here, 300 Sail, or thereabouts weighed Anchor, and stood to Sea, but the Wind shifting, were obliged to return into the Ports, and disembark some part of them. These were designed to Land in *Kent*, *Sussex*, or the Mouth of the River, as it was given out; and the Providence is the more remarkable, since, had they gone forward, we might have been under some surprize, as having neither a sufficient number of Shiping, or Land Forces, at so short a warning in a readiness to oppose them.

And to take a further notice of their Confidence in succeeding, take a taste of what their own Gazeteer, or the Author of the Mercury-Gallant, says to the *Matter* in a *Letter*, dated *Feb.* 29. *viz.*

This great Sedulity, and restless Application of the King appears in that which has been the Entertainment and Discourse of all the Universe; never any Age, never any Histories have afforded Examples of a secret Parallel to it; a thousand, and a thousand Persons have been hard at Work, preparing all things necessary for the passage of the King of *Great Britain*, (so he stiles the late King *James*) into *England*, yet no Body could divine the reason of so many motions, till the very moment the King himself was pleased to make it known, and betwen 4 and 500 Vessels lay ready to Transport Soldiers, Horses, and all things necessary for the Army, which they were to Transport, and the supply of those that waited on them, the whole

whole under the Convoy of 30 Men of War, yet no Body had the leaſt ſuſpicion that there was any ſuch deſign in view; all theſe Preparations are to Embark, part at *Dunkirk*, part at *Calis*, and Monſieur *Gabaret* is to command the Fleet: It may be ſaid, whatever the Art of Man could invent, for the executing of a vaſt Deſign, is to be ſeen in what relates to the preſent Deſcent; 'tis for God and the Elements to do the reſt, without which we can promiſe nothing to our ſelves: The Jubilee is to be opened juſt upon the Execution of this Enterprize, which will cauſe People to redouble their Prayers to Heaven for a Bleſſing upon it; and ſo he proceeds to give an account of the Forces as has been recited: But fearing I have kept my Reader too long, beyond the Seas, it is time to bring him to *England* again, that there we may ſee by what miraculous Providence all theſe great Preparations were fruſtrated in a happy and timely diſcovery.

You may remember I was before come to the 22d of *Febr.* when the intended Aſſaſſination of his Majeſty's Perſon was the laſt time reſolved to be put in execution, and that the Aſſaſſins were diſappointed by his not going abroad that day, as they expected, or had word he did not go, from one of their Orderly Men, who were planted as Spies at *Kenſington*, to obſerve when the Guards and the King's Coaches went out, and to give notice to ſome of the Conſpirators at *London*, and they as privately and ſwiftly as they

could, to convey it to others, ſo as that they might not fall into Confuſion or Diſorder in their Diſappointments, but this Precaution prevented it not, for by the ſecond Diſappointment, they fearing the Thing, as they termed it, had taken Air; and *Keys* being ſent out to ſee what he could learn, brought them word, *The Guards were returned from* Richmond *foaming*; and going again for a farther Inteiligence, return'd to the *Mews-Gate*, and the People much wondered what the reaſon ſhould be the King did not go a Hunting for two Saturdays together, as he uſed to do, and that he had heard ſome muttering among the Guards, that it ſeems did not pleaſe him; whereupon the Bravoes flag'd their Courage, and immediaetly diſperſed. But now let me haſten to particulars of the happy Diſcovery, and ſee in it the Wonders of God's Providence in fruſtrating evil Deſigns:

Capt. *Pendergraſs* being ſent for by Capt. *Porter*, about the 11th of *February* laſt, being then in the Country, came to Town in order to meet him, and the 13th of *Febr.* accordingly did meet him at the *Blue-Poſts* in *Spring-Garden*, there they Dined, and he acquainted him a Deſign was on foot to take away the King's Life; and that Sir *George Berklay*, with other Officers, were come on purpoſe out of *France*, in order to execute it, which made him very uneaſie when he told him the thing, but he held his Peace till he had an oppertunity of waitiug on my Lord

Lord *Portland*, which he did as ſoon as he could, and made him acquainted with the whole Intrigue of the Deſign as far as he had dived into it, intreating him to make the King acquainted with it. This was upon a *Fryday* Night, *February* 14, when the very next Day the Attempt was reſolved on to Aſſaſſinate His Majeſty: my Lord *Portland* having acquainted the King with it, he told Capt. *Pendergraſs*, that his Majeſty was deſirous to ſpeak with him, and afterwards carried him into the King's Cloſet, where the King asked him ſome Queſtions, and he told him what he knew of the Deſign, but deſired to be excuſed from naming any Perſons, becauſe he only intended to prevent ſuch a Barbarous Action, and reſolved not to be a Witneſs: (He having declared to my Lord *Portland* before his Abhorrance of ſo Barbarous a Buſineſs, and that his deſign of coming into it, and keeping Company with them, was to ſave the King's Life, by acquainting his Lordſhip with it.) He deſired His Majeſty not to go out that Day, but take care of himſelf, becauſe there were Perſons reſolved to Aſſaſſinate him coming home; but, as is ſaid, begged to be excuſed from naming Names, for he would rather die, then betray his Friend, and he thought it enough that he had ſaved His Majeſty's Life; ſo that it was about half an hour before King could perſwade him to name Names, and he would not do it before his Majeſty had given him His Word and Honour that he

ſhould be ſafe, and not obliged, or compelled, againſt his Mind to be a Witneſs; and then he did name the Names, and told in that nature all he knew: ſo when the Fright was among them, on *February* 22d, he went out of Town with Capt. *Porter*, reſolving not to be an Evidence, but being taken with him and *Keyes* at *Leatherhead*, in *Surrey*, and brought before the Council, he there being certified, that Capt. *Porter*, who had engaged him in it, had himſelf diſcovered and accuſed him, he thought himſelf diſcharged from any Obligation of Honour in concealling it, and willing to give an account of any thing he knew, and has ſince performed it, in giving a very large and ſatisfactiory account of the Contrivances, and many Circumſtantial Matters that happened at divers of their Conſults, and that attended the wicked Deſign ſo luckily fruſtrated.

When His Majeſty was firſt acquainted with it, His Goodneſs and Indulgence having been ſo great to all His Subjects, and having done ſo much for the *Engliſh* Nation, he could not tell how he might give Credit, that any could be ſo deſperately wicked to from ſuch a Deſign againſt his Life, till other concurring Evidence made him ſenſible there was ſomething extraordinary in it, *viz.*

After Capt. *Pendergraſs* had given the firſt notice to my Lord *Portland*, *Monſieur de la Rue*, not knowing any thing of that nature was diſcovered, having long before intended to make the King acquainted with the Conſpiracy,

ſpiracy, if it had come to a Head; and perceiving the Miſchief was intended on *Febr.* the 15th, he ſays, He would then have prevented it by a Diſcovery, but that he heard the King was not to go abroad that Day, his Method being to have put the Conſpirators into the King's Hands, by getting 2 or 3 General Officers to be acquainted with it, and dividing the *Guards* into ſeveral Parties, in the Lane between *Brentford* and *Thurnham-Green*, and ſo to have ſurpized them and their Horſes in ſeveral of the Inns that they were quartered in: But on *Febr.* the 17th, leaſt their Reſolutions ſhould be altered, and he get no perfect Intelligence how it was to be done; (for it ſeems *Charnock* and ſome others were doubtful of him, by the ſcruple they made to admit him into their Company one time at the *Nag's Head* in St. *James's Street*, ſo that *Charnock* ſeeing him at the Door, pulled his Head back, as he ſat in a Coach, but perceiving *De la Rue* ſaw him, he came out and Complemented him, and then would have had him gone up Stairs, but he refuſed it, becauſe he was not admitted at firſt;) ſo that he went to a General Officer of his Acquaintance, *viz.* Brigadeer *Learſon*, to acquaint him with the Buſineſs, but he was gone out of the Town, and then he left Word for him, That *the next Day he would wait upon him*; but going accordingly he found him not returned, and thereupon deſired when he came Home, he ſhould be acquainted, *Not to go out of Town till he came*

to him; and afterwards he met him and acquainted him with the buſineſs, and begged of him to make it known to the King that Day: to which he replyed, *I will.* Then he asked him, *Which way he propoſed to put them into the King's Hands?* And he told him, *The beſt and ſafeſt way for his Majeſty was to go out on* Feb. 22d, *for the Parties that were to execute the Deſign, were not to go out of Town till the Afternoon, to be at* Brentford *when the King came back from Hunting, and that they ſhould have 2 or 3 Troops of Horſe by Parties to ſeize them in the Inns and Publick Houſes, were they would diſperſe themſelves.* To which *Brigadier Lewſon* reply'd, *It was no ways ſafe to run that hazard; but he would offer it to the King, and let him know his Mind;* and accordingly the next Day he gave him notice he had acquainted the *King* with it, who deſired *to know who they were that were concerned in it:* whereupon he gave him the Names of thoſe he knew, and where they lived; and dining with him on *Thurſday*, he told him of the forwardneſs the *Conſpirators* were in, and of many Things and Diſcourſes that had paſſed amongſt them; and after Dinner Brigadier *Lewſon* ſaid, *He would go again to the King, and acquaint him with it, and that he ſhould come to him on* Friday *Night*, and miſſing to meet with the *Conſpirators*, where Sir *George Berklay* and others had appointed a Conſult, he went to a Play, and when he came Home, found 2 Letters from *Brigadier Lewſon*, left for him to come to him,

him, and going accordingly, he told him, the King was desirous to see him: He reply'd, *He would wait on him to the King with all his Heart*; and so he went with him to *Kensington*, and was introduced by my Lord *Portland*, where he made a large Discovery of his Knowledge, as to the Assassination, *&c.* and these two Accounts mainly agreeing in concurring Circumstances, and Matters of *consequence*.

And further, his Majesty receiving Advice of the *French* Preparations from the Duke of *Wertemburgh*, by Adjutant *Smettau*, and the same Assurance confirmed by Lieutenant Coll. *Mentz*, of the Regiment of *Bell-Castle*, it was thought fit to take Measures sutable to prevent these threatning Dangers, so that on *Saturday* in the Evening, being *Febr.* 22d, Messengers, with strong Gaurds, were sent to seize such of the Conspirators as Information was given against, by the Discoverers of the Design against his Majesty's Life, *&c.* For the Mannagement being committed to the Right Honourable my Lord *Cutts*, he assisted the said Messengers with some of his Captains and Files of Musketiers; and with such indefatigable Diligence and Industry was the Search made, that that Night, and on *Sunday* Morning, a great many of the Conspirators were seized and brought unto the Guard-house at *White-hall*. The Guards were likewise doubled, and other needful Preparations taken. Those that were made Prisoners at this time, were

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Robert Charnock, who in the late Reign had been Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, upon the Outing of the Proteſtant-fellows of that Colledge; *Bartram* and *Grimes*, two Monks; *Fitzpatrick*, an *Iriſh* Serjeant of Granadiers; *Langhorn*, who had been Chapple-keeper to the late King; *Lee*, *Gage*, *Mackarty*, *Aubery*, *Smithſon*, and ſome others. And the ſame Evening a Council was held at *Whitehal*, the Lord-Keeper being preſent, and there the firſt three were examined, and then remanded to the Cuſtody of the Captain of the Guard till *Monday*-morning, when they were committed by Warrant of High-Treaſon to *Newgate*, for Imagining, Contriving and Compaſſing the Death of the King, *&c.* And Warrants were with all ſpeed ſent out to apprehend Others lurking about the Town, or retired into the Country: and by the Providence of G O D, there were few of them, but in a little time, fell into the Hand of Juſtice; many of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter. Hereupon his Majeſty ſent for the Lord-Mayor *&c.* and acquainted him with the Conſpiracy, and the happy Diſcovery of it; alſo the intended Invaſion from *France*, &c. ordering him to take care of the Peace of the City: Whereupon, returning, ſuch effectual Care was taken by his Lordſhip's Prudence and Diligence, that not the leaſt Diſturbance has ſince happened.

His

His Majesty desirous to communicate this weighty Affair to both Houses of Parliament, went to the House of Peers the 24th of *Februa y*, attended with the usual Solemnity, and seated in his Royal Robes on the Throne, the Commons being sent for, he made the following most Gracious Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I *Am come hither this Day upon an Extraordinary Occasion, which might have proved Fatal, if it had not been disappointed by the Singular Mercy and Goodness of God; and may now, by the continuance of the same Providence, and our own Prudent Endeavours, be so Improved, as to become a sufficient warning unto us, to provide for our Security, against the pernicious Practices and Attempts of our Enemies.*

I have Received several Concurring Informations of a design to Assassinate Me; and that our Enemies at the same time, are very forward in their preparations for a Sudden Invasion of this Kingdom; and have therefore thought it necessary to lose no time in acquainting my Parliament with these things, in which the safety of the Kingdom, and Publick Welfare are so nearly concerned: That I Assure my Self, nothing will be omitted on your part, which may be thought proper for our present or future Security.

I have not been wanting to give the necessary Orders for the Fleet; and I hope We have such a strength of Ships, and in such a readi-

ness

ness, as will be sufficient to disappoint the Intentions of our Enimies.

I have also dispached Orders, for bringing home such a Number of Our Troops as may Secure us from any Attempts.

Some of the Conspirators against my Person, are already in Custody, and care is taken to Apprehend so many of the rest as are discovered; and such other Orders are given, as the present Exigency of Affairs does Absolutely require at this time, for the Publick Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having now Acquainted you with the Danger that hath Threatened Us, I cannot doubt of your Readiness and Zeal to do every thing which you shall judge proper for our Common Safety; and I perswade my Self, We must be all Sensible, how necessary it is in our present Circumstances, That all possible Dispatch should be given to the Business before you.

This Gracious Speech, highly pleased the Lords and Commons; so that His Majesty returning to *Kensington*; the latter returning to their House, with little or no Debate, *Nemine Contradicente*, Resolved, That an Humble Address should be presently drawn up, to Congratulate the Happy Deliverance and Safety of His Royal Person, &c. And in a short time the following Address was Agreed on by the Lords and Commons, both Houses having concerted the matter to make it but one Address; and the Lords sending to the Com-

Commons, to know if they were ready to go with them to wait upon his Majesty; They immediately Adjourned, and between the Hours of Seven and Eight in the Evening, the following Loyal Address was presented to Him at *Kensington*, which He Graciously Received, *viz.*

Die Lunæ 24 *February* 1695.

WE E Your Majesty's Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the present Parliament Assembled, Having taken into our serious Consideration, that Your Ma esty hath been pleased to Cmmunicate to us this day; think it our Duty in the first Place, To give Your Majesty most humble Thanks, for having Acquainted Your Parliament, with the Great Danger Your Sacred Person hath been Exposed to, and the design of an Invasion from our Enemies Abroad: We heartily Congratulate Your Majesty's Preservation, and Thankfully Acknowledge the Signal Providence of God in it; and at the same time, Declare our Detestation and Abhorrence of so Villanous and Barbarous a Design; and since the Safety of Your Majesty's Dominions, do so entirely depend upon Your Life, We must humbly beseech Your Majesty, to take more than ordinary care of Your Royal Person, and We take this occasion to assure your Majesty of our utmost Assistance to Defend Your Person and Support Your Government, against the Late K. James, *and all other Your Enemies, both*

both at Home and Abroad; Hereby Declaring to all the World, That in case Your Majesty shall come to any violent Death (which God forbid) We will Revenge the same upon all Your Enemies and their Adherents; and as an instance of our Zeal for Your Majesty's Service, we will give all possible dispatch to the Publick Business; and we make it our desire to Your Majesty, to seize and secure all Persons, Horses and Arms, that Your Majesty may think fit to Apprehend upon this occasion.

The King having received this Address, with the wonted Satisfaction of former Addresses, from his Parliament, Returned this Gracious Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you heartily for this kind Address: On my Part, you may be Assured, I will do all that is in my Power for the Preservation of this Kingdom, to which I have so many Obligations; I will readily venture my Self for the Preserving of it, and Recommend my Self to the continuance of your Loyalty and Good Affections.

And the Honarable House of Commons, to express their Zeal for his Majesty's Preservation, in immitation of what had been done, or something near it, in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, when many Plots and Conspiraces were contrived against her; Resolved upon an Association to lie upon the Table, and in order to be Signed by the Members, *viz.*

WHEREAS

WHEREAS There has been a Horrid and Deteſtable Conſpiracy, Formed and Carried on by Papiſts and other Traterous and wicked Perſons, for Aſſaſſinating His Majeſty's Royal Perſon, in order to Encourage an Invaſion from France, *to Subvert our Religion, Laws and Liberty; We whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed, Do Heartily, Sincerely and Solemnly, Profeſs, Teſtify and Declare, That His Preſent Majeſty, King* WILLIAM, *is Rightful and Lawful King of theſe Realms; and we do mutually promiſe and engage to ſtand by and Aſſiſt each other, to the utmoſt of our Power, in the Support and Defence of His Majeſty's Moſt Sacred Perſon and Government, againſt the late K.* James *and all his Adherents: And in caſe His Majeſty come to any Untimely or Violent Death (which God forbid) We do hereby, further, freely and unanimouſly oblige our ſelves to Unite, Aſſociate and ſtand by each other, in Revenging the ſame upon His Enemies and their Adherents, in Supporting and Defending the Succeſſion of the Crown, according to an Act made in the Firſt Year of the Reign of King* William *and Queen* Mary; *Entituled,* An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succeſſion of the Crown.

After this, they proceeded to Reſolve, *Nemine Contradicente, That leave be given to bring in a Bill, That whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to Afflict theſe Realms, by the Death*

of

of *His Present Majesty*, *the Parliament then in being, shall not be Dissolved thereby, but shall continue until the next Heir to the Crown in Succession, according to the late Act of Settlement, shall dissolve the same.* And this Bill being Brought in, soon passed into an Act to the great disappointment of our Enemies for the future, and the Renowning the Memory of a Parliament that Enacted it to all Posterity.

Nor were the Lords slow in Entering into an Association, which varied from that of the Commons, only instead of the word (*King* William *is Rightful and Lawful King*) Their Lordships incerted, *That His Present Majesty King* William, *hath a right by Law to the Crown of this Realm, and that neither the late King* James, *nor the pretended Prince of* Wales, *nor any other Person, hath any Right whatsoever to the same*, &c.

This Good Example thus set on foot, that made the Great Queen *Elizabeth* so easie in her Throne, and conduced to the Happiness of her Long and Quiet Reign, was soon followed by the greater part of the Kingdom, So that it would puzzle a good Arithmetician to name any City or Corporation, between this and the *Tweed*, that has not signed the like; whereby His Majesty, to His great Satisfaction, has been made sensible, how much he stands Engaged in the Love of his People.

Whilst these Precautions were taken at Home, the Fleet under the Command of Admiral *Russel*, was got to Sea, and stood to the

the Coaſt of *France* with about Sixty Men of War, beſides Fire-Ships Bomb-Catches and Tenders, to the great Conſternation of the intending Invadors, who inſtead of putting out, Retreated from him, and ſheltered themſelves behind the *Veesbank*, *Flemiſh Sands* and in *Callice Road*; ſo that we had Advice, that 16 of their Men of War, Four of them carrying 70 Guns, being got among the *Flats* and *Flemiſh Sands*, had wrought themſelves as near as they could to the Peer Head of *Dunkirk*, where they lay with Yards and Top-maſts ſtruck; that it was believed, to lighten their Ships, they had taken out ſome of their Guns, that many of their Tranſport Ships were beaten and broke on the Sands, and thoſe at *Calis* ſhrunk ſo together for fear of our Fire-Ships and Light Frigats, that entangling, they diſorderd and diſabled each other; the *Gerſy* Privateers, and ſome other Frigats, took 17 of their Victuallers, who knowing nothing that they were blocked up, were coming to them from *Breſt* and other places, Laden with Wine, Brandy and other neceſſaries, to render them Luſty and Courageous when they Landed in *England*; ſome Light Frigats ſtood in and Battered the outermoſt of this formidable Armado, took ſome, fired others, and made them again run upon the *Flats* and *Shallows*, where they were obliged to continue, ſo that all on a ſudden, Providence ſo ordered it, that the Invaders found themſelves Invaded, and in great diſtreſs; and tho the Court of *France* had timely notice of it by ſeveral Cou-

Couriers (who before had been so assured of the Success, that in easie slighting terms they said, *King James was not gone to Invade but to take possession of his Kingdoms.*) They industriously conceal'd it from most, lest the melancholly News should spoil their Jubilee as it frustrated their Mighty Expectations and make them see their mountain of Wonder had at last brought forth a ridiculous Mouse.

That they were knowing of the Conspiracy against the King's Life, and waited a Signal by Fire, to be given from *Dover*, to their Privateers who tended thereabouts in expectation of it, and to carry the News to the Fleet as a Signal for their Sailing when they knew the King was dispatch'd; seems somewhat plain from the expression of a great French Officer in his Letter to a Friend, *viz. That they wondred they heard no News of the Death of the* Prince of Orange (so they only stile King *William*) *seeing he has been so long at the last Extremety.* And a Popish Priest, as I am informed, having some compassion of his Countrey, being an *English* man (for no doubt some of them have Consciences) told a Gentleman, that was preparing to come over, *That He pitied* England *with all his heart, considering what Calamities it must of necessity groan under, when oppressed by French Tyranny*; which he then conceived unavoidable for it to escape, and seemed to hint, as if he was not ignorant of the wicked design on the King's Life; saying, *The whole Nation would be a miserable Field of Blood.*

But

But the Priest it seems is no more a Conjurer than the French King, for both of them were much out in the Assurance they had of the Success; nor had it been so easie a a thing as they fancied, to effect their design, had Providence permitted them to have Landed; for though their Preperations might have been sufficient for a Surprize, yet it cannot be thought they were near enough for the Conquest of Three Kingdoms; so that they never talked a word in *France*, of Conquering *England*, but only Seconding a formed Party which they supposed ready to declare for the late King, and powerful enough to draw the whole Nation along with them: Besides, it was a Riddle to most, before it was expounded, That such a Design should be laid when the King was in *England*, when the Nation was *Assembled* in Parliament, and deliberating with all the liberty and freedom that ever their Predecessors enjoyed; I say, that at such a time, they should think them weary of their Liberty; and at the point of their Greatest and most Glorious Efforts for the Common Cause and the Liberty of *Europe*, they should, as it were, in a Frolick, call in the French to succour them in the swift Destruction of what they had been so long Erecting; so that by this, we may see Treachery was their aim to carry on their designs, and not main Force: I deny not, and it is evident, that some, even *English*-men (pardon me that I give them that Glorious Epethite) would have joyned them in the

the Ruine of their Country, if it could have been Desolated by their endeavours; yet let me have Charity to believe, the number of these Desperadoes were so few, that in a fair Field against a Victorious Prince, at the head of his Loyal Subjects, whose number is too difficult to be reckoned up, they would have purchaced their Rashness at a dear Repentance; so that all that can be inferred, is, that their main and almost only hopes of Success, was in the success of their Ruffains in basely and cowardly taking away the most Precious Life in the World; thereby thinking not only to shun His Courage, who has so often beat them on their own Frontiers; but by the sudden fall of so Excellent a Prince, to have put His Mournful Subjects, into such a Confusion and Consternation, that might have worked to their Advantage.

But leaving the Great Armado of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, Blocked up, which, no doubt, as the Spaniards once before had done, he termed the *Invincible*, to as little purpose; Let me look back a little and see what becomes of the Scampering Conspirators.

The King, for the speedy Apprehending of such as were fled from Justice, was not wanting in time, nor sparing in Rewards, but in his Great Prudence Issued out His Royal Proclamation, in the Form following:

Whereas

WHereas His Majesty hath Received Information upon Oath, that the Persons hereinafter Named, have, with divers other wicked and Traiterous Persons, entered into a Horrid and Detestable Conspiracy, to Assassinate and Murder His Majesty's Sacred Person; for which cause, several Warrants for High Treason have been Issued out against them, but they have withdrawn themselves from their usual places of Abroad, and are fled from Justice; His Majesty hath therefore thought fit, by the Advice of His Privy Council, to Issue this His Royal Proclamation, and His Majesty doth hereby Require all His Loving Subjects, to Discover, Take and Apprehend, James Duke of Berwick, *Sir* George Barkley, *Major* Lowick, George Porter, *Capt.* Stow, *Capt.* Walbank, *Capt.* James Courtney, *Lieut.* Sherburne, Brice Blare, —— Dinant ——, Chambers, ——Boise, George Higgins, *and his two Brothers, Sons to Sir* T. Higgins —— Davis, Cardel Goodman, Cranburne, —— Keys, —— Pendergroſs, *alias* Pendargrats; ——Bryerly, ——Trevor, *Sir* George Maxwell, —— Durance *a Fleming* Christopher Knightly, *Lieutenant* King, —— Holmes, *Sir* William Perkins, ——Rookwood, *where-ever they may be found, and to carry them before the next Justice of the Peace or Chief Magistrate, who is hereby required to commit them to the next Goal, and their to remain, until they be delivered by due course of Law; and His Majesty does require the said*

Ju-

Juſtice or Magiſtrate, immediatly to give notice thereof to Him or His Privy Council: And for the prevention of the going of the ſaid Perſons, or of any other into Ireland, or other parts beyond the Seas; His Majeſty does hereby Require and Command all his Officers of the Cuſtoms and other His Officers and Subjects of and in all reſpective Ports and Maritime Towns and Places within His Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, that they and every of them in their reſpective ſtations and places be careful and diligent in the Examination of all Perſons who ſhall paſs or endeavour to paſs beyond the Seas, and that they do not permit any perſon whatſoever to go into Ireland, or other places beyond the Seas, without a Paſs under His Majeſty's Royal Sign Manuel, until further Orders, and if they ſhall diſcover the Perſons above named or either of them, then to cauſe them to be Apprehended and Secured, and to give notice as aforeſaid: And His Majeſty does hereby publiſh and declare, to all Perſons who ſhall conceal the perſons aforenamed or any of them, or be aiding and aſſiſting in the concealing of them or furthering their eſcape, that they ſhall be proceeded againſt for ſuch their offence with the utmoſt ſeverity according to Law: And for the Encouragement of all Perſons to be diligent and careful in endeavouring to diſcover and apprehend the ſaid perſons, We do hereby further declare, That whoſoever ſhall Diſcover and Apprehend the perſons above named, or any of them, and ſhall bring them before

before some Justice of the Peace or Chief Magistrate, as aforesaid, shall have and receive, as a Reward, the sum of One Thousand Pounds, which said sum of One Thousand Pounds the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury are hereby required and directed to pay accordingly; and if any of the Persons above named, shall discover and apprehend any of their Accomplices, so as they may be brought to Justice, his Majesty does hereby declare, That every Person making such Discovery, shall have his Majesty's Gracious Pardon for his Offence, and shall receive the Reward of One Thousand Pounds, to be paid as aforesaid.

And such good effect had this Proclamation on the diligence of the People, that between the 24*th* and 29*th* of *February*, divers were taken, and among others the three *Higginses*, Brothers, and Sons to Sir *Thomas Higgins*, *Cardel*, *Goodman* the Player, *Sherburn* and *Knightly*, and divers Suspicious Persons were secured, not mentioned in this Proclamation; and soon after there was news that the Duke of *Berwick*, who had been at *London* and other places to make a Faction, got away into *France* by the help of an *Owler*, before the Plot was discovered; and indeed as appears by the Intilligence he carryed to the Late King and *French* Court, he was Ignorant what a strange turn Providence had made in so short a time; nor was it long before Sir *William Perkins* was taken at a Chamber in the *Temple*, and committed to

Newgate, where Sir *John Friend*, and others of his old Acquaintance were got before him, and at his houſe in *Warwick-ſhire*, in a Garden, under the Wall, was found Three Boxes of Arms, *viz.* Piſtols, Carbines, and Swords, almoſt enough to mount a Troop; of which, and the manner of their Diſcovery, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more, when I come to make ſome Inferrences from his Tryal: *Stow* and *Rookwood* had put themſelves in Spunging-Houſes, under the notion of Fob-Actions, where the latter was diſcovered by one *Harrice* his Accomplice, who was ſent from *France* to obey the Orders of Sir *George Berklay*, whom he ſhould find in *Covent-Garden*, by the token of a *White Hankerchief hanging much out of his Pocket*, and accordingly by that token he found him, and he and one *Hare* who came over with him (on the like recommendation, and great promiſes of what ſhould be done for them, by reaſon of the faithful Service they had ſhewed, being Troopers in the late King's Guard) were entertained by Sir *George*, or his Order, the one having four Shillings a day allowed, and promiſed ſix when he had a Horſe; but it appears when he came to hear that his buſineſs he was ſent over about, was to be aſſiſting in the Aſſaſſination of the King; he concluded, inſtead of the Advancement promiſed him for his good Service, he was ſent over to be Sacrificed; yet although he engaged in the Deteſtable Deſign making ſome Atonement by his diſcovering his Colleague, all

re

a Free Confeſſion, as a warning for the fu-ture; he had this time the good Luck to meet with Sparing Mercy by laying hold on the benefit of his Majeſty's Proclamation. But the Priſons were ſo Crowded that a Guard of the Trained-Bands of the City of *London*, was ordered, to take care of *Newgate* to prevent Eſcapes, or any Miſchief that might happen in attempts of Reſcue; and a ſpecial care was taken of other Priſons, to the ſame purpoſe: Beſides theſe, divers were in Cuſtody of Meſſengers, and People were everywhere very dilligent to Apprehend, and carry before Majeſtrates, Perſons ſuſpected to be ill Affected to the preſent Government; ſuch as Apprehended any of thoſe, whoſe Names were mentioned in his Majeſty's Proclamation, were punctually paid without delay, which made others more induſtrious in the Country as well as about the Town; ſo that a great Number of Perſons and Horſes were Seized there, and detained till a good Account ſhould be given of either of them; and becauſe ſome Diſputes in Claim of the promiſed Reward, aroſe among the Apprehenders of the Conſpirators, mentioned in the Proclamation, the better to deſide this, and put a Legal End to the Controverſies, notice was given in the *Gazzette* the 16th of *March*, to make and prove their reſpective Claims in the following manner.

WHereas ſeveral Perſons have by their Petitions, Humbly prayed, that they may receive the Reward, promiſed by his Majeſty's Proclamation the 23d *of* February, *for Apprehending ſome of the Conſpirators therein named, It is ordered by the Council, that publick Notice be given, that all Perſons having any Claim to the Reward, or any part thereof, for Diſcovering or Apprehending any of the ſaid Conſpirators, do Lodge their reſpective Claims with the Clark of the Council, in Writing, before* Monday *the* 23d *of this inſtant* March, *and that they Attend on that day, in order to be heard thereupon. That direction may be given for the Immediate Payment of the ſame Reward to the Reſpective Perſon, to whom the ſame ſhall Appear of right to belong.*

And accordingly ſuch as made their Claims good, had their Moneys paid out of his Majeſty's Treaſury of Exchequer. And becauſe there had a great Number of Papiſts, or ſuch as were Suſpected to be ſo, obſerved of late to flock to the Cities of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and their Suburbs, His Majeſty Iſſued out this Proclamation for Removing them, being Humbly Addreſſed to do it by the Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, ſtrictly to charge and command all Popiſh *Recuſants*, *Natives* or *Denizons*, being above the Age of ſixteen, that they according to the Statute in that behalf made, do repair to their reſpective Abodes, and if they have none, then

then to the places where their Reſpective Father or Mother is or ſhall be dwelling, and do not thereafter remove, or paſs above five miles from thence. And his Majeſty does likewiſe charge and command all Papiſts, and Perſons ſo reputed to be, except Merchant-Strangers, Settled Houſe-keepers, and other Perſons excepted in the Statute made in this behalf, on or before the tenth day of *March* next, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and from all places within ten miles of the ſame, &c.

By this Proclamation likewiſe, the Majeſtrates were commanded to make ſtrict and dilligent ſearch within the ſpace Limited, and to proceed againſt all ſuch, as ſhould preſume to ſtay after the time mentioned, that were not Qualified for it; and Tender them the Declaration, in an Act made (for Amoving Papiſts, from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, end ten miles diſtance,) in the firſt Year of his preſent Majeſty, and of the late Queen *Mary*, of bleſſed Memory; and to proceed thereupon, according to another Act made in the ſaid firſt Year, Entituled, *An Act for the better Securing the Government, by Diſarming Papiſts, and Reputed Papiſts.* And where they ſhall find or be Informed of any perſons, who by reaſon of Converſation, Diſcourſes, or other Demeanor, ſhall be Suſpected, not to be well Affected to his Majeſty's Government, they ſhall Tender the Oath Appointed, in an Act made the ſaid firſt Year, Entituled, *An Act for the*

Abrogating the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, appointing other Oaths. And upon the refusal to take the same, due Prosecution be made thereupon. The Justices to keep Entries, or Records of such their Proceedings in order to the Tendring the said Oath again to the Persons so Refusing, Commanding Debuty-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace to meet Monthly, and to inform themselves of the Affairs of their Respective Counties and Divisions, in Relation to the Premises, and take special care to preserve the Peace and prevent all unlawful Meetings, and Assemblies, against his Majesty and his Government. And that from time to time, they give Information of their Proceedings and Discoveries, to the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council.

Nor was effectual care upon the Issuing out of this Proclamation wanting, the Deputy Lieutenants for the County of *Middlesex*, met and signed Warrants for the seizing of Papist and other disaffected Persons, with their Horses and Arms, as likewise all Horses suspected to appertain to such Persons, till the Owners shall appear and make it out to the contrary; and soon after this course was taken all over *England*. The *Scots* Nobility, who had any management of Affairs in that Kingdom, and were at Court, had orders to repair home, and take care of the Peace of *Scotland*, it not appearing otherwise, but the design was laid there as well as here, and such effectual care was there taken, that divers

suspected

ſuſpected Perſons were ſeized, Papiſts diſarmed, and all other vigilence neceſſary obſerved; for the Duke of *Berwick* had boaſted, it ſeems upon his return, that *Scotland* was prepared as well as *England*, when any Forces ſhould be Landed there, to Encourage the Deſperadoes of that Nation to an Inſurrection; and the French King ſeemed cock ſure of this, though grandly miſtaken in the main, when he ſent his Letter to Monſieur *D' Avoaux*, his Ambaſſador in *Sweeden*, about the intended Expedition of the late King *James*, viz.

The ſtrong Deſires I ever had to Improve every favourable opportunity that ſhall occur of contributing to the King of England's *Reſtauration, has obliged me to order, at his requeſt, ſome Troops to march towards the Sea-Coaſts, to be ready to embarke and follow that Prince into* England *in caſe of an Inſurrection there, confirms the advice he has a long time ſince received of the Fidelity of many of his Subjects, and the great deſire they have to be headed by him, with the general Diſcontent the whole Nation expreſſes againſt the Prince of* Orange's *Government: If the Event does not anſwer his Expectation,* Europe *however ſhall ſee, that I am always ready to aſſiſt a Prince forſaken by all thoſe whom the Intereſt of Crowned Heads ought to ſupport.*

But how far *Lewis* the XIV. was impoſed on to believe, That His Majeſty's Subjects, whom in his Letter he ſtiles only Prince of *Orange*, were diſcontented with His Govern-

ment, plainly appears, to the loſs of his vaſt expended Treaſure; and the ſence of ſhame he muſt have, if ever any bluſhes for baſe actions dyed his cheeks, for being ſo impoſed on, baffled and defeated, not only in his Enterprze, but to be laughed at for his boaſtings and falſe notions to Forreign Courts: However, his Miniſter in *Sweeden*, ſpared not to magnifie his Maſter on this account, as ſoon as he thought it was convenient to devulge his project, ſuppoſing it too far carried to be prevented by any intelligence; but when the news came to that Northern Court, That all was daſhed, and particularly of the baſely intended Aſſaſſination of King *William*, to favour his deſign, he was looked on with contempt and deteſtation; and the Ambaſſadour was told, *All Princes in ſuch a caſe ought to look to themſelves, if thoſe Practices were uſed*, or to this effect; but *Avaux* excuſed it is well as he could, denying his Maſter knew any thing of the intended Aſſaſſination, but that out of a generous Compaſſion to a Prince under his Protection, he had endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh him in his Throne; but ſince the deſign had unluckily miſcarry'd, there was no further fear for any one of his Naval Preparations by way of Invaſion, for he had ordered the Land-Forces to diſembark, and the Ships moſtly to be laid up or diſperſed into the ſeveral Ports from whence they came: But whether he had done this or not, the *Engliſh* were not wanting to look narrowly after them; and had it

not

not been for the *Sands* and *Shallows*, he need not have taken much care of ſending his Ships into the Ports from whence they had been gathered to make our Coaſts a viſit. However, our Bomb-Veſſels being come to the Fleet, *Callis* was ſet on Fire in divers places, by the throwing in of Shells, to make a Bonfire for the joyful Diſcovery of the Deſigns they had carryed on againſt us; and that Town, as others had been before, had ſunk in its ruins, could the Veſſels have come near enough, and the weather favoured them, but the Sea runing high, and too ſoon ebbing, cauſed them to draw off two ſoon: however it alarmed all the Country thereabouts, and made them ſee their mighty Preparations had turned to their diſadvantage as well as diſgrace; and that our Maritime-Affairs might be forwarded to our Advantage and the future Diſapointment of onr Enimies. Being our Wooden-Walls are chiefly the Nation's ſtrength, and that they cannot be managed without able hands, his Majeſty publiſhed His Proclamation, for the Encouragement of all ſuch Seamen, and able bodied Land-Men, as ſhould voluntarily enter themſelves in his Majeſty's Service on board the Men of War, or Fire-ſhips, or any Preſſed Veſſel or Tenders belonging to the Fleet at *Portſmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Boy in the Nore*, *Thames* or *Medway*, that they ſhould receive as His Majeſty's Free Gift and Royal Bounty each able and ordinary Seaman, three Months Pay, and each able Landman, one Months

Pay, to be payed to them by or before the first day of *May*, &c.

This Encouragement occasioned great numbers to enter themselves on Board; and the better to keep under disaffected Persons, an Act passed the Royal Assent, Impowering His Majesty to Apprehend and Detain such Persons as he shall find cause to suspect are Conspiring against His Royal Person and Government.

Several Noblemen, as I told you, having taken leave of the Court, and return'd to *Scotland*, in order to secure the Peace of that Kingdom; such measures were taken, that considerable Forces were ordered to be in a readiness (if any Attempt should be made) as able to suppress it, and all Precautions taken to hinder the Male-contents joyning in any body, Persons Travelling toward the Sea-Coasts being examined, and the Earl of *Hume* and divers others suspected, were secured, the People in general expressing their high Resentments of the Intended Assassination and Invation; and expressing their willingness to venture their Lives and Fortunes for the preservation of His Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, against all Conspirators and Invaders; and for a forwarding of their Zeal and Loyalty, the following Proclamation was Published at *Edenburg*, and other Cities and Burg Towns.

William

WIlliam, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, To Macers of our Privy Council, Meſſingers at Arms, our Sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially conſtitute Greetings: Whereas the merciful Providence of God to us and our Kingdoms, hath diſcovered a moſt wicked and horred Conſpiracy to Aſſaſſinate our Royal Perſon, which was deſigned to have been acted before an Invaſion, which is intended from* France, *for the ruining our Religion and all that is dear to our Good Subjects; we with the Advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have thought fit upon this occaſion to require, likewiſe we do require all our Loving Subjects to be in a readineſs, as they ſhall receive Orders from our Privy-Council, with their beſt Horſe and Arms, to defend againſt any ſuch horrid Invation from* France, *and againſt the Attempts which may be made by Enemies, and Evil-affected Perſons at Home: And thereby require all our Loving Subjects, eſpecially your Magiſtrates, Juſtices of Peace, Collectors of our ſeveral Sea Ports, and upon the Borders, to ſtop and ſeize all Perſons coming into this our ancient Kingdom, who have not ſufficient Paſſes under one of the Secretaries of State for either of the Kingdoms of* Scotland, *or* England, *or under the Lieutenant of* Ireland, *their Hands*, &c.

Upon this the Weſtern-ſhiers of *Scotland*, Propoſed to Raiſe for his Majeſty's Service,

Boot

8000 Men in eight days, to be employed were he wou'd be pleased to order them.

Thus *Scotland* took as timely Care, as the notice would allow, to prevent the threatened Danger, and proceeded so effectually, that I do not hear the least Disturbance has happened in that Kingdom.

As for *Ireland*, it is somewhat in the Dark as yet: whether the *French King*, or the late *King James*, had any considerable Reliance on a Party there, because that to be Commiserated Nation, had Smarted by their drawing it for the most part into a Rebellion before. However, the Lord-Lieutenant had the News no sooner communicated to him, but all deligent Care was taken, to Secure Suspected Persons, and such Precautions used, as might Frustrate any Attempt.

So that if the *French* Boast of their Secrecy in carring on their Design; we may truly say, never more Prudence and Conduct was us'd, than what his Majesty has shewn, in Preventing and Defeating all their Measures; being in so direct a Line, moving with such a Swiftness, and certainly that all his Historians must Record it to the last Posterity, that next to God, he has doubly been our Deliverer.

And here I may further note, That not only Private Caballs, or Meetings at Taverns, Clubs, but even Private Pulpits, or unlawful Meetings, under the Umbrage of Religious Worship threatned us with terrible Dissolation and Destruction, by Non-Jurant Parsons

for

for the purpoſe, perverting the Scripture-ſence, the better to encourage or impoſe on the Auditors, for in an exempt Chappel, one Preached on theſe Words, *Jer.* 24. 10. *And I will ſend the Sword and Famine, and Peſtilence among them, till they be conſumed from off the Land that I gave unto them, and to their Fathers.* And near the time of the intended Aſſaſſination, on theſe Words, *Jer.* 46. 10 *For this is the Day of the Lord God of Hoſts, a day of Vengeance, that he may avenge himſelf of his Adverſaries, and the Sword ſhall devour, and it ſhall be ſatisfied and made drunk with their Blood; for the Lord God of Hoſt hath a Sacraſice in the North-Country by the River* Euphrates.

I ſhall make no Inference from this, but leave it to believed, whether the Texts were choſen at random, or purpoſely; if the latter, paſſing over Reflections, I dont know whether it might not be to the ſame Tune that the Popiſh Prieſts held forth a little before the Gunpowder-Plot was diſcovered, in the fifth year of the Reign of King *James* the firſt, *viz. They ſhall go away like Bliſt, and mount like a Smoak; they ſhall feel a terrible Blow, and not know who hurt them*, &c.

And that this Conſpiracy was not known to a few beyond the Seas, who were to make all the Friends they could in *England*, appears by a paſſage in a Letter ſent by Mr. *Trinder* to his Nephew, a Captain in the Earl of *Arran*'s Regiment, Dated at *Paris*, *Feb.* 7. 1685, *viz.*

Sir

SIR,

NOtwithſtanding your great Confidence in your Heroe, and your great Ingratitude to your Friend, your Repentance ſhall not be too late, if the Effects of it appear within a Month after the receipt of this Advertizement, from your Friend, J. T.

So that by it there ſeems ſomething to be gathered, that they laboured to corrupt the Officers of his Majeſty's Forces, and indeed, they left no Stone unturned that they thought might be for their Advantage; for his Attonement in ſomeConſtruction appears, he ſhould upon the Landing have carried over his Troop; but the Captain's Loyalty to the preſent Government is too well grounded, and approved, to be ſhaken by ſuch ſlender Artifices; for he made it known as ſoon as it came to his Hands, and thought it might ſeem to contain in it ſomething of Myſtery, yet the Plot no ſooner broke out but the Riddle was expounded.

When the *French* King had certain Notice that the Deſign was diſcovered, and our Ships were in great numbers on his Coaſt, and a great many, the late King *James* had relied on in *England*, were ſecured, he grew very Melancholly, which like a Contagion ſpread ſwiftly among his Courtiers, but having ſhaken off his firſt Surprize, and putting a better Face on the Matter, he laboured to comfort others, and declared, he had neglected nothing to King *James*, having given all

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Aſſiſtance, and number of Forces he wanted, but that he was an Unfortunate Prince in his Enterprizes and Undertakings, as has been evident in moſt of his Affairs; and it appears by Forreign Advices, that lucky Diſappointment has broke all the Meaſures of the *French* Court.

The Earl of *Athlone*, with the Generals *Swerin* and *Cohorn*, marched to *Givet* on the 14th (New Stile) with 18000 Horſe and Foot, twelve pieces of Cannon, and ten Mortars, and with throwing in Bombs, and Fire-Bullets deſtroyed a great part of the Town, and burnt a vaſt Magazine laid up to ſupply an early Campaign on that ſide, containing great ſtores of Forrage, Proviſions and Ammunition, amounting in all to three Millions of Rations, and as much as would have ſerved 50000 men for three months; and 'tis further added, that this cauſed another diſappointment, *viz.* The *French* King reckoned himſelf ſo ſure of the Deſign upon *England* that he intended in Perſon to have been at *Mons* on the 25th of *March*, and to have Encamped an Army at *Limbeck*, near *Hall*, where the Engeniers and Quartermaſters had marked out a Camp, either to have undertaken ſome Siege of Importance, or to have invaded *Flanders*, as he ſhould have found it moſt convenient; but now his going is little talked of, and his Troops move ſlowly to take the Field, the mighty Preparation for Maritime-Affairs are at a ſtand, and the People every-where murmure at there Oppreſſions

preſſions, conſidering they can ſee no end of the Extortions and Taxes impoſed on them; the Sale of Honours and Promotions meets with but few Purchaſers, and conſequently turn to an inconſiderable Account in relation to the large Expectations the Court had from that Project to raiſe Moneys for the carrying on the War. Their Troops before the happy diſcovery, were likewiſe in motion on the *Meuſe*, which is ſaid was onely to cover their deſign upon *England*, and they after gave out at *Dinant*, and other Frontier places, that King *William* was kill'd, a Hunting, and that King *James* thereupon was Embarqued for *England*, to poſſeſs himſelf of his three Crowns, alledging, that it was impoſſible his deſign ſhould miſcarry; and boaſted, that upon the ſucceſs, they ſhould be able to make ſuch a diverſion in *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, as would oblige the Confederates to accept of a Peace upon their Terms; and it ſeems, the late King's Emiſſaries were raiſing Men in other Parts, for Captain *Graham* was ſeized at *Hamborough*, where he had privately got one Ship, and liſted twenty Men for the late King's Sevice, to ſeize others, and come away by ſtealth; but in the mean while he was ſeized, his deſign diſcovered, and he made a cloſe Priſoner till the King of *England*'s Pleaſure ſhould be further known, whether he ſhould be ſent over, or tryed there: And further than what I have told you of the Agreement between the *French* King, and the late King

James

James on his coming to a Result to invade *England*,

It is ſaid, that the latter agreed with the former, to renounce all Pretenſions, and Claims, which he, or his Anceſtors had, or ought to have to the Crown of *France*, and that as ſoon as he with Safety, or Conveniency could do it, he would leave it out of his Title, and the Arms of *France* out of his Eſcutcheon, on condition that the *French* King and his Heirs ſhould duly aſſiſt him and his Heirs againſt the Rebellions of his Subjects, when his, or their Affairs ſhould ſo require it; and further agreed to put three Cautionary-Towns, one for each Kingdom, into his Hands, for performance of Articles, repayment of Monies borrowed, and Charges, *&c.* The *French* King engaging at the ſame time to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to kindle a War in *Germany*, [illegible] by fomenting the Differences between the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Holſtein*, or in encreaſing the Jealouſies between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, about the ninth Electorate; alſo to improve the Differences between the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, in denying *Monſieur Schonenburg* the uſual Privileges of other Forreign Miniſters, and to [illegible]rum the Swiſs *Cantons*, and Princes of *Italy* by laying Siege to *Geneva*, or ſome other place, ſo that the Allies ſhould be little capable of giving much Aſſiſtance, if any, to *England* aſſuring him that the Emperor was very unſucceſsful in Levies, both of men and money,

and

and that he would take care to divert the *Spaniard* in *Catalonia*, and raise a Jealousy between *Portugal* and *Spain*.

These things notwithstanding were but in *Embrio*, and it is thought he will never be able to bring them to any perfect Birth; the Design was laid to his advantage well enough could he have made it good, but it has had so bad a beginning, that reasonable People are apt to believe the Prudence of those Princes and States, will altogether frustrate the rest.

The Colledge of Jesuits, it is said, were deep in encouraging the late King's Attempt, so that two of their number, and a Hundred Secular Priests in Officers Habits were to attend him in his Expedition, and to bring with them a considerable quantity of Relicts and other such like Trumpery, also among other things the Image of St. *Victor*, which was sent into *France* by the Queen of *Poland*, with a Legend of its miraculous Effects, against the Infidels and Hereticks: That the late King's Followers were so confident of Success, that they discoursed of taking Debentures upon Places and Estates in *England*, so that there was scarcely a place of Value that was not promised to one or other; and it is reported that the Jesuits had begged *Chelsea*-Colledge for their Society, that so they might be near the Court to give Council in important Affairs; that most of the Religious Houses in *Paris*, had ventured little or more for the Encouragement of the Expedition; that the Town-House had advanced.

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vanced 300000 Livers on an Inſtrument Signed by the late King, to repay it in ſix Months at a ſet Intereſt; That divers Bankers and Marchants of that City, had ventured conſiderably in Goods, appointing their Sons or Prime Servants *ſuper Cargo*, they being promiſed an Exemption from Cuſtoms or other Duties, and the *French* King promiſed them the like at their return to *France*, for the firſt time; and ſuch of the late King's Retinue as had moneys to ſpare, layed it out in *French* Goods, ſuch as they thought would vend to the beſt advantage in *England*, or the other Kingdoms appertaining to it; for it ſeems the Duke of *Berwick* had it in Charge to ſolicite ſuch of the *Scotch* Nobility as were in the late King's Intereſt, to be ready to appear, in order to head the Male-contents in that Kingdom, and make them fall into Rebellion as ſoon as they ſhould have notice the *French* were Landed in *England*, alſo to promiſe them ſome of the beſt *French* Officers, to aſſiſt in managing and commanding their Troops. But whether he had ſuch Aſſurance from them as he boaſted, I cannot determine, yet certain it is, the diſappointment proved no leſs there than here; for upon the Diſcovery of the Deſign, ſuſpected Perſons were ſecured; and the Right Honourable the Lords of His Majeſty's Privy-Council in *Scotland*, the Lord *Provoſt*, with other Magiſtrates, and Common-Couneil of *Edinborough*, to expreſs their Loyalty and Zeal againſt all *Conſpirators* and *Invaders*, cauſed to be drawn up,

up, and sent to the Lord *Ogleby*, the following Addresses, to be by him presented to his Majesty. That of the Privy-Council was in these Words.

May it please your Majesty,

The surprizing Account we had by your Majesty's Last to your Privy-Council, of a Barbarous and Villanous Design against your Royal Person, which God hath Mercifully discovered, obligeth us most humbly to acknowledge the Goodness of that God, by whose watchful Eye and Almighty Hand, your Majesty hath been Protected and Preserved; and as this detestable Villany hath been frustrated, so likewise we hope that all designs of your Enemies to Invade your Kingdoms, shall, by the Blessing of God upon your Majesty's Endeavours, be disappointed.

The manifold Blessings we have enjoyed under Your Majesty's Happy Government, oblige us upon this occasion to renew the hearty and sincere Offers of our Lives and Fortunes to assist and maintain Your Majesty against all your Enimies, both at Home and Abroad.

And indeed the generality of the *Scottish* Nation express an extraordinary Joy for the happy discovery of the Conspiracy, and his Majesty's providential Delivery from the Hands of the Blood-thirsty Assailins, shewing their highest resentments and indignation against the Contrivers and Promoters of such base and treacherous Practises.

Divers

Divers other Disaffected and Suspected Persons were Secured; and a Proclamation issued for the raising one half of the Foot-Militia; and Fencible Men ordered thereby to meet the 9th of *March* at the places of Rendezvous mentioned in their several Shires, also naming the Officers who are to command them.

Another Proclamation for calling out all the Heriots, or Gentlemen of Estates, who are qualified, to meet with their best Horses and Arms the King's Host wherever it shall be, appointing days for their Rendezvous within their several Shires, and also to command and require such as have been Officers abroad since His Majesty's coming to the Crown, to come to *Edenburg*, and there give up their Names to the Privy Council, or Sir *T. Levingston*, so to be employed in such commands as they are fitly qualified for.

Thus the care and industry of the three Kingdoms, thro' the Blessing of God, defeated the Design of our Enemies, and exposed them to the Scorn of those Princes Courts where they boasted so confidently of their success; and to make it yet more plain, how positive they were, take, as we find it advised from *Paris*, a further touch of it in the Negotiation the D. of *Orleance* had with the D. of *Savoy*, to bring that Prince over to the French Interests, *viz.*

This Duke, tho' Father-in-Law to the Duke of *Savoy*, having made many fruitless, at-

attempts to engage his Royal Highneſs
quit his Intereſt with the Confederates,
embrace a new Alliance with *France*, up
advantageous Propoſals, thought it con
nient, ſome Days before the Conſpiracy
England was diſcovered, to diſpatch an E
preſs to him at *Turin*, his chief City, ſign
fying in poſitive terms, that there was ce
tain advice from *England*, that the Prin
of *Orange* was at extremity, or at the poi
of Death, and that he believed, before th
Expreſs could reach him, they ſhould he
of his Death; in which conjuncture, H
Majeſty of *Great Britain* (meaning the la
K. *James*) by Directions of his Brother, th
French King, was gone from St. *Germans*
Callis, there to Embark ſuch a number of H
Majeſty's Forces, as would be ſufficient, b
the aſſiſtance they ſhould meet with in *En*
land, to re-inſtate him in his Throne; an
that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, being al
willing to improve ſo favourable an Oppo
tunity, was putting himſelf at the Head
100000 Men, in order to make an Invaſi
on the *Spaniſh Flanders*, deſigning to marc
directly to *Bruſſels*; and that the Schee
was ſo well lay'd by his Brother, that if h
underſtood any thing of Martial Affair
there was nothing could obſtruct a comple
Conqueſt of the *Netherlands*; or, that
would at leaſt, ſo far break the Meaſures
the Allies, if not the Bond of Confederacy
the enſuing Campaign, as once again, to e
able His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, on his ow

Terms

Terms, to give Peace to *Europe*; and that he hoped this timely notice might be the more inforcing, whereby he, considering the dubious event of things, might consult his own Security e'er 'twas too late; assuring him, if he could make any speedy advance towards complying with His Majesty's Proposals for an Accommodation, himself would not be wanting to create a good Understanding between him and the King, for the Welfare and Prosperity of the Duke, in reference to his Daughter, who was very precious to him; otherwise his Repentance hereafter might not be accepted.

But this between Flattery and Menace, as little prevailed with the Duke, as the former Cajolings had done, for he utterly rejected entering into any Alliance with *France*; for he well remembred the *French* had been Treacherous and Severe Task-masters over his Country in his Father's Time; and since his coming to the Government in fortifying and Garrisoning Towns to their own use, which they had extorted as Cautionary; and at the beginning of this War had had the Confidence to demand a great part of the strongest of those that remained to him, to be put into their Possession, in order to bind him to his Good-behaviour, as it may be termed, but in reality to secure him to their Interest by force; which he generously rejected, and prudently clos'd with the Interest of the Confederate Princes, to preserve his own Royal Dignity from a Master,

being

being ſet over him, and ſecuring the Liberty and Advantage of his Subjects.

Thus have you heard the *French* King's Brother in plain words, without mincing; however, the ſuddain Expectation he had of K. *William*'s Death, and the Aſſurance of the ſucceſs, he rely'd on from it, and the intended Invation, made him thus bold, which one ſhould think would be enough to convince all obſtinate Gainſayers, and take off the Maſk they would ſo willingly keep on, to hide it from the vulgar part of the World.

Pardon me, Reader, if in this caſe I am conſtrained to make ſome Digreſſions, the better fully and fairly to clear the point, which ſome of our Adverſaries at this Day are induſtriouſly labouring to darken with ſhadows of Evaſion, and Clouds of their Ignorance, as being altogether unknowing of what they are aſhamed of, or at leaſt ought to be to own, *viz.* Their contriving and encouraging the intended Aſſaſſination of His Majeſty's Royal Perſon, though as for the intended Invaſion, they boldly and bare-facedly own it; therefore let me lead you now to the Tryals of ſome of the intended Aſſaſſins, briefly to ſhew you what was proved againſt them.

An Indictment of High-Treaſon, for intending, compaſſing and imaging the Death of the King by a barbarous Aſſaſſination, in order to further and aſſiſt an Invaſion into this Kingdom from *France*, and the Subver-

on

on of the Government, being found by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex* at *Hicks's*-Hall, against *Robert Charnock*, *Edward King*, and *Thomas Keyes*; they had timely Notice of it, and Counsel allowed to come to them in Prison, to prepare them for their Tryals; a Favour not granted in former Reigns.

On the 11th of *March* they were brought down from *Newgate*, to the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Bailey*, to be tryed upon a special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; and the Court being sat, there were six Judges present, *viz.* The Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, the Lord Chief Baron *Ward*, Mr. Justice *Powel*, Mr. Justice *Nevil*, and Mr. Justice *Robeby*, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great many of the Nobility and Gentry.

The Prisoners being called, and set to the Bar, on their Arraignment the Indictment was read, containing a great deal more in Matter and Form than I have mentioned, to which, after their Objections were answered; (which were chiefly to put off their Tryals, for a further time to prepare, and to desire Council to plead for them, a Copy of the Indictment, *&c.*) they severally pleaded, Not Guilty, and for their Tryals put themselves upon God and their Country.

After this, at Mr. *Charnock's* Request, Pen, Ink, and Paper was allowed, and they had the Favour to have the Indictment read over in *Latin* twice, and had liberty given them to make their Challenges to the Jury severally of 35, without shewing any Cause,

as they ſhould be called over to be Sworn, before they were Sworn; but after ſome Debate, they all agreed to one and the ſame Challenge, ſo ſaved the Court the trouble of Trying them ſingle; and Mr. *Charnock*, whom they moſtly relied on for their Spoakſman, having a Copy of the Pannel in his hand, challenged 33, whereupon 12 were Sworn; Proclamation for Information was made, the Witneſſes appeared, and the Indictment was again read; and Mr. *Montague*, one of the King's Council, opened the Nature of it, ſetting Forth the Fact contained in it, charged upon the Priſoners; after which Mr. Attorney-General proceeded to the like purpoſe more at large, tracing the Deſign of Aſſaſſinating the King, *&c.* from time to time; after which Capt. *Porter* was Sworn, and ordered by Mr. Sollicitor-General, to give the Court and Jury an Account of what he knew concerning any Conſpiracy about Aſſaſſinating the King, and when it was to be done, and where, and how, and by whom, and particularly what in it related to the Priſoners.

Upon this, Mr. *Charnock* deſired the Witneſſes might not be in the hearing of each other, but kept out of Court, till they were ſeverally called to give their Evidence, which was accordingly ordered and done.

Upon this Capt. *Porter* depoſed, That ſome Weeks before the Deſign was on foot, for the Aſſaſſination of the King, about the latter end of *January*, he was with Mr. *Charnock* and Sir *W. Parkins*, and hearing the latter ask the former

former, *Where he would be at Night?* He told them, *That if their Buſineſs was not privat, he would be there:* and then he was told *That ſome Friends were come from* France, *and ſomething was doing, that would be for the Service of the King:* Whereupon he undertook to engage in it, and then he was told, He ſhould know very ſoon what it was; and ſoon after Mr. *Charnock* did acquaint him, That Sir *George Barklay*, and thoſe that came from *France*, had brought a Commiſſion to raiſe and levy War upon the Perſon of King *William*; asking him, *How many he could raiſe to joyn with them, if the King*, (meaning the late King *James*) *landed?* So he deſired further time to conſider of it, and Mr. *Charnock* told him, Sir *George Berklay* would come to him about it, and accordingly he, and one *Holmes*, came to the Houſe where he lodged, in *Norfolk-ſtreet*, and there they were private with Mr. *Charnock*, and Sir *George* told the Deponent, *He was glad to ſee him in good Health, but ſorry to find him Lame*; as, indeed, he at that time was, of the Gout; but hoped in a little time to ſee him abroad: and after that, ſeveral Meetings were had, particularly at the *Globe* Tavern in *Hatton-Garden*, at the *Nag's-Head* in St. *James's-ſtreet*, and the *Sun* Tavern in the *Strand*; in all which places, they conſulted the beſt way, and moſt convenient place to Aſſaſſinate the King, when he came from Hunting; and Sir *George* ſaid, He had ſome Money to buy Horſes, as much as would furniſh about 40; and *Charnock* a-

greed to bring in 6 or 7 Men out of the Country; Sir *William Parkins* promiſed to lend Five Horſes, Three to be mounted by his own Men, the other by ſuch as ſhould be provided; and the Deponent promiſed to bring 7 Men with Horſes; whereupon Sir *George* ſaid, *That* Lowick, *and others that came over with him from* France, *would be engaged in the Deſign, to make up the Number:* and when he deſired to ſee the Commiſſion, and asked Mr. *Charnock* about it, he reply'd, *He never ſaw it*; but Sir *William Parkins* informed him, he had ſeen it; and that it was all writ with King *James*'s own Hand, and ſigned by himſelf. Theſe things being agreed on, Conſultations were had, in what Method it was to be done; and ſeveral Propoſals were made, one to ſet upon the King, as he came from *Richmond* by the Road, others when he ſhould be on Horſeback at *Cue*: Sir *George* was for having it done by Ambuſcade, in the Park by *Richmond*, and therefore deſired the Deponent to go with *Knightley*, and take a view of the ſeveral Places and Grounds thereabout, to find out which was the moſt convenient place for executing the Deſign; and the Day before he went over, *King* came to know, if he were to go about ſuch a matter, and proffered to go with them; and ſo they went to the *Swan* at *Knightsbridge*, and lay there, and went the next Day to view the Ground, and returned that Evening to their Company, and gave them an Account of it. Then they found Sir *George* had altered his Mind;

ſo

ſo it was agreed to be done in a Lane coming from *Brentford* to *Turnham-Green*; in this manner, *viz.* Brigadier *Rookwood* was to Command a Party of Sir *George Berklay*'s Men to Attack the Guards; alſo, he was to Command another Party for the ſame purpoſe, and Sir *George* was to have four out of each Party to ſeize upon the King's Coach, and to ſhoot into it, and kill the King, and all thoſe that were with him; and this was agreed to be done on the 15th of *February*, which was on a *Saturday*, a Day on which the King uſually went to *Richmond*, and there were two Orderly Men (as they termed them) who were to Lodge at *Kenſington*, *viz.* one *Chambers*, and *Durant*, a *Fleming*; one duly to bring an Account when the Guards went out, and the other, when the King went, and when Notice ſhould be given the King was gone, the Conſpirators were to go by three or four in a Party, to prevent ſuſpicion, and diſperſe themſelves in ſeveral Inns a out *Brentford* and *Turnham-Green*: Sir *George* was to be at the K. of *Bohemia*'s *Head*, and a Man was ordered to give Notice to 'em, when the King landed, and then to give Notice to the reſt, they were to form their ſeveral Bodies, and to take their Poſts, as had been agreed on: and when the Deponent asked him, What he thought to do when the Buſineſs was over? he reply'd, *They need not fear any thing, but might go to Town and lie ſtill; for there would be a ſufficient Number ready from abroad to aſſiſt them: that* 4

or 5000 French *were to divert in* Scotland; *and the King would be near the* French *Shoar with a ſufficient Army.* But this time they were diſappointed by the King's not going abroad.

On *Friday* before the 22d of *February*, another time appointed for the Deſign, a Meeting was held at the *Sun* Tavern in the *Strand*, where, by reaſon of the former Diſappointment, ſeveral of the Company expreſſed their fear of the Thing being diſcovered; but being otherways ſatisfied, it was reſolved to be put in practice on the 22d, being *Saturday*; and Mr. *Charnock* ſaid, He could not ſtay, becauſe he ſhould want ſome Men that were come up out of the Country on purpoſe; and when the Deponent ſaid, He feared his Horſe was ſick, Sir *William Parkins* undertook to furniſh him with one, and ſaid, *He had ſent to Mr.* Lewis, *that belonged to the Earl of* Feverſham, *to procure ſome:* and the next Morning he ſent him a Note by one *Cranburn*, that he had ſent to Mr. *Lewis*; and he ſaid, He would help him to three Horſes with Saddles, Holſters, and Piſtols, deſiring the Liſt of his Men, which he ſent him, and he ſent back the Liſt of his own, which he ſhewed to Mr. *De la Rue*, and then all things were preparing for the Execution of the Deſign; but upon News that the King did not go out that Day, it was concluded, the Plot was diſcovered.

He further depoſed, That Mr. *Charnock*, and Mr. *King*, were at the ſeveral Meetings men-

mentioned, and that *Keys* was at many of them, and had hired Horſes for him to employ in the Buſineſs; on the 15th of *February* he hired two, and knew what Deſign they were to go upon, and was preſent at the time the News was brought of the Diſappointment; and the laſt time he told them, He had met the King's Guards coming back all in a Foam, and that he had ſpoke to one of my Lord of *Oxford*'s Regiment, and that ſomething was muttered, upon which he feared a Diſcovery, that he was at the *Sun* Tavern *Feb.* 21, and that the Deponent acquainted him what was reſolved to be put in Execution the next Day, which he agreed to, and that *Durant* had taken and brought an Account of the Inns about *Erentford* and *Turnham-Green*; that *Charnock* had ſent him a Liſt of the Names, ſubſcribed *R. C.* and that he verily believed it to be his own Hand, having often ſeen his Writing; and that the laſt Day it was to have been put in Execution, he received another Note from him of the Diſappointment, ſubſcribed *R. Robinſon*, a Name Mr. *Charnock* uſed ſometimes to go by.

To this Evidence Mr. *Charnock* alledged, He was not a legal or good Witneſs, becauſe he owned himſelf guilty of the Crime, that he had forfeited his Life by his own Confeſſion, and Swore to take away his to ſave his own. But the Court informed him, He was a legal and good Witneſs, notwithſtanding this Objection; and as for the Credit of his

Teſtimony, it muſt be left to the Jury, who were Judges of the Fact: Then he alledged, that he Swore to get the 1000 *l.* Reward, promiſed in the Proclamation; but it appeared, he was not entituled to that Reward, as having been apprehended, not voluntarily ſurrendring, nor apprehended any one of the Conſpirators, which ſhould enable him to receive it. Mr. *King* only asked ſome Queſtions, as to his being at the Meeting mentioned, and going to view the Ground, and was anſwered in the Affirmative. *Keys* alledged, He had no Body to Adviſe him, nor Counſel, and that he was only a Servant to Capt. *Porter*.

The next Witneſs was Mr. *De la Rue*, who gave Evidence, the Deſign had been a great while carrying on, and that it originally came from Colonel *Parker*, as to his knowledge of it; and that ſeeing him at St. *Germains*, in *France*, he had propoſed it to him; and ſaid, he would propoſe it to the Lord *Melfort*, King *James*'s Secretary in *France*; and two Years after he came over into *England*, a little before the Buſineſs of *La Hogue*, and would have had him come along with him; but he declined it, and applied himſelf to the Lord *Melfort*, who adviſed him to ſtay, ſaying, *There was Something a doing would pleaſe him*: but at laſt he did come over, and was in Company with Mr. *Charnock*, Mr. *King*, Capt. *Porter*, Mr. *Goodman*, and Coll. *Parker*, ſeveral times: That Mr. *Charnock* carried him to Sir *Will. Parkins*

Parkins, at the *Mitre* in St. *James*'s, and there he was asked, *Whether he would be concerned in Easing them of the Yoak that then lay upon them?* Whereupon he asked, *Which way it was to be done; for he could not understand what was meant by it, but the taking off the King.* Then they demanded, If he knew where Capt. *Stow* lived, imploying him to go to his Lodgings. And after that he met them at the *Star*-Tavern in *White-Fryars*; but not looking on that as a fit place, they went to *Bromfield*'s Coffee-House, and there they had some Discourse about it, taking one another aside to be more private; and, upon enquiry, the Deponent was told, It was because of an old Gentleman in the Company, whom they did not care to make acquainted with it, by reason he was too old to have a hand in it; and they would acquaint none but such as were to be Actors in the Design.

But after that he was not often in their Company, yet heard from time to time how Matters went on, and from Capt. *Porter* particularly, That they had been at *Turnham-Green*, and liked the place very well; and that their Design was to take the King off, or to hurry him into *Romney-Marsh* alive, and carry him into *France*. That whenever he questioned *Charnock* about the Design, he referred him to Capt. *Porter*, and often said, *He believed it would come to nothing.* The Design was to carry the King away alive, if they could; and if they could not, then

to Aſſaſſinate him, and pretend it was done by a Random-ſhot. He told him alſo, that they had ſent to King *James* for a Commiſſion to Execute this Matter, and to Authorize them to carry King *William* to *France*, if they could take him; but it ſeems the Commiſſion was delayed ſome time, and then the Conſpirators reſolved to do it without; and in a few Days before the King was to go to *Flanders*, in the Spring 1695, this Deponent was told, all was ready; but then they wanted a Ship to carry His Majeſty off, and they met at the *Roſe*-Tavern, as he remembers, *viz.* Capt. *Porter*, and Sir *William Parkins*, but he is not ſure Mr. *Charnock* was there, where he asked them, If they had concluded on the Matter? and they told him, It was concluded on; and as he further remembers, they told him, Capt. *Charnock*, or *Robinſon*, (for he went by both Names) was to have a Recommendation to ſome Body at *Deal*, and there they were to hire a Veſſel for that purpoſe; and he was asked, Whether he would go with them? And he told them, He would; but a little after the King going for *Flanders*, diſappointed their Deſign, and ſo the Buſineſs was put off till his Return the laſt Winter: And then in *November*, or *December*, Mr. *King* ſaid, *That there would be a Major-General come over from* France; *and that there was a Man of Quality about Town, that offered to Diſburſe* 2 *or* 3000 l. *if King* James *would give Order for it*; which the Deponent ſuppoſed.

was

was to buy Horſes to be engaged in the De-- ſign; and he ſaid, *He would tell him more.* A Month or two after, he told him, *He was out of Money about it, which could not be had.* Then he was brought into Company by Capt. *Porter*, and they told him about the latter end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, That the Major-General was come over, and there were a great many Perſons come over with him, and there would be ſomething ſpeedily put in Execution, which would be for the King's Service. This was told him by Mr. *King*, the next time he ſaw him; adding, *That he wanted a Saddle and Holſters; for he was to go out of Town with ſome Friends, in order to this Affair*; and deſired the Deponent to lend him one; but he told him, *He had none; but would Write to Capt.* Porter *to procure one for him:* and further ſaid, *He was to go to* Knightley *and* Durant, *to know whether the King went to* Richmond, *or* Hounſlow; and afterwards told him, he did go, ſaying, *There was the rareſt place for the Execution of the Deſign againſt the King, that was to be thought of, if they ſhould never ſo long have ſtudied and deſired a convenient place, they could not have had ſuch another; that it was within a quarter of a Mile of the King's Houſe at* Richmond, *in a Lane that leads to the Houſe, which was ſo narrow, that the Officers and Guards could go but few abreaſt, or hardly broad enough, here they were to do it by Ambuſcade.* But Sir *George Barkley*'s Mind altere

tered, he fearing he ſhould not have Horſe enough to bring them off; and ſo it was agreed to be done in the narrow Lane between *Turnham-Green* and *Brentford*; and being with *King* at the *Dog*-Tavern, he told him, divers of the Guards were come out of *France*, there were other Conferences: *King* ſaid, *He did not approve of Mr.* Charnock, *in regard he talked not like a Soldier, but was for a Poſt out of danger*; and *as for Capt.* Porter, *he had as much Fat in his Brains, as in his Body*: That *King* often owned the carrying on the deſigned Aſſaſſination; for after the Ambuſcade was diſliked and laid aſide, he agreed, that the Guards ſhould be attack'd, and the King in his Coach near *Turnham-Green*, and by diſcourſe with the Deponent, expreſſed his Conſent to it.

The Ambuſcade mentioned, which was afterward diſapproved of, was to have been laid behind the Park Pales near *Richmond*, and that they ſhould be ſawed ſo far, that when the King's-Coach came into the place, the Pales ſhould be broken down, as *King* ſaid, and that they would have a Party of Horſe ready, that ſhould be ſure to do their work with the Guards, and when thoſe that ſet on the Coach fired, they ſhould take Notice to make their Attack; *Durant* deſired to Command a Party, and they were to be attired in Countrymen's Habit, to be the leſs taken Notice of; *Keys* was to have his ſhare in this, he was at divers Meetings, drank

drank a Health to the ſqueezing the *Rotten Orange*, and conſented to every thing relating to this buſineſs, that was debated at the ſeveral Meetings where he was preſent, for at ſome of them he was abſent: And it further appeared againſt him, that when he was to procure Horſe and Arms, he knew for what deſign they were procured, and many other things were teſtified againſt him of his being deeply concerned in this Horrid Conſpiracy.

The next Evidence was Mr. *Pendergraſs*, who depoſed, That the 11th of *February* 1695. Capt. *Porter* ſent for him out of the Country, and on the 13th he met him at the *Blue-Poſts* in *Spring-Garden*, aud told him of a Deſign that was on foot to take away the King's Life, and that Sir *George Berklay* and other Officers were come from *France* for that purpoſe, which thing he took very uneaſie, but ſaid nothing, till he had an opportunity to diſcover it to my Lord *Portland*, deſiring him to acquaint the King with it, and afterward being carried into the King's Cloſet he diſcovered it to His Majeſty that he was at ſeveral Meetings with the Compirators, were the matter was diſcourſed and agreed to, ſome time after he had diſcovered it, for he kept his Correſpondence with them, that he might not be ſuſpected as well as to get further Intelligence, the better to prevent the wicked Deſign: That at one Meeting at the *Blue-Poſts*, when the Deſign was to be executed, *Charnock* ſent a Note to Capt. *Porter*,

Porter, to inform him, the King did not go that way, so there must be counter Orders, and Capt. *Porter* told him, *It was* Charnock's *Hand, signed* R. Robinson; and showing it acquainted him and the rest of the Company, that they were disappointed that Day; for as much as the King did not go abroad, this was the 15th of *February*; and the next time they met, their was Mr. *King*, Mr. *Keyes*, Mr. *De la Rue* at Capt. *Porter*'s Lodgings on *Saturday* the 22d, in the Morning, where was some Discourse of the matter, and Capt. *Porter* upon notice of the King's intending to go abroad, from Mr *Charnock*, had sent a List of his Men, and received back a List from *Charnock*, but afterwards an account coming there was another Disappointment, that the King did not go, they concluded it was discovered, and dispersed.

The next Evidence was Mr. *Brethram*, who deposed, That on the 8th or 9th of *February*, as he was crossing *Covent-garden*, he met one *Trevor*, and he told him he was going to Mr. *Charnock*'s Lodging, and that he heard him say, he wanted to speak with the Deponant; who replied, *He had no business with him, nor he with him as he knew of*; but he prevailed upon him to go with, him, and when he came to Mr. *Charnock*'s Lodging, he met him in the Entry, and told him, he wanted to speak with him, and so took him into a back Room, by reason there was Company in his own, and told him, *That the King*, meaning King *James*, *was coming*, *and*

and their was a piece of Service to be done before he could come; and if he would Assist in it, it would answer his Expectation. Then he demanding what was to be done; he replied, *You must only go abroad and take the Air; you will see several of your Acquaintance there.* Yet he persisting to know what was to be done, Mr. *Charnock* told him, *It, was to cut off this Spark, or take off this Spark, and then the King will come Home quietly,* By which Spark he then understood he meant King *William.* He said he had known Mr. *Charnock* by times seven Years, he being a Lieutenant in Colonel *Parker's* Regiment when this Deponant was a Trooper. He also asked him, *If he would accept of being One in the Business.* Who replied, He could not engage in it, for he had disposed of himself otherways, *viz.* he was engag'd with Sir *William Perkins.* And divers Persons being in another Room, into which he lead him to drink a Glass of Wine, and some coming in afterwards, he observed great Whispering, among the Company, and frequent calling out of Mr. *Charnock* for private Discourse; but at that time there was no other particular Discourse about the Business. On the 22d of *February* he met Mr. *Charnock* at *Lincoln's Inn* Back-gate, where he told him, *He heard Warrants were out against them, and that if he would come to his Lodging, go out to* Kenlington, *and do the Work at once, in taking him off, they should be quiet, and have the King peaceably here.* Mr. *Charnock* also asked him

him as to Mr. *Trevor*, what he thought of him, if he might truſt him; and he replied, He might do in that what he pleaſed.

The next Witneſs was Mr. *Bois*, who depoſed, That on the 14th of *February*, he went to viſit Mr. *King*, who told him of the buſineſs in his own Chamber, ſaying, *There was a great Undertaking in hand, and he had put this Deponant's Name into the Liſt, and if he would make one he ſhould have a Horſe*; and asked him, *If he had any Boots?* He reply'd, *No*. Then he deſired him to ſee if he could get any, with Orders to meet him at the *Roſe* Tavern in *Covent-Garden*, in the Afternoon; and in the mean time to go to Mr. *Knightley*, and he wou'd inform him further; ſo he went, and came to Mr. *King* again in the Afternoon to the *Roſe*-Tavern, as had been appointed, where Mr. *King* deſired him not to be out of the way the next Day, but to ſtay at home, and he would come or ſend for him, and ſo gave him 20 Shillings to buy him Boots, referring him for the reſt to Mr. *Knightley*; but when he came to him, he told him, *There was nothing to be done that Day*; yet deſired him to be always in the way, *for the Buſineſs would ſoon be over*: After this he met Mr. *King* ſeveral times, who ſtill referred him to *Knightley*, and when he asked for the Horſe propoſed, he told him, *He ſhould have one alotted in time, and when this thing was done, they ſhould be happy*, but never told him *it was to take off the King*; but he believed he ſhould know far-

further of it, for he would not have engaged till he did know, and that himself came from *France* the beginning of *June* 1695. And further declared, That Mr. *King* did tell him, *Sir* George Berklay *would Command the Party, and that there were about* 40 *or* 45 *to be concerned in the Design:* This being the Sum of what was deposed againſt the 3 Priſoners.

The King's Council having done with the Evidence they deſigned to give, Mr. *Charnock* was directed by the Court, that this was his proper time to make his Defence; he having taken Notes.

And accordingly he took the Opportunity to make a long Diſcourſe; but his prime Objections were theſe:

That as to his telling Capt. Porter, *That Sir* George Berklay *had brought over a Commiſſion all writ with* King James's *own Hand, thereby Authorizing them to raiſe War againſt the Perſon of King* William; *he inſinuated, It was very unlikely he ſhould write it, having the Lord* Melfort *for his Secretary, and others, that could do it, and he need but Sign it on the Top,* James R. *And as to his Commanding a Party, he knew nothing of it; and though he had acknowledged his own Guilt of a very bad Crime, he named not them that were to be of the Party, and ſo he conceived it could not be an Overt-act, unleſs he told who they were. He denyed he was with him at any place where Sir.* George Berklay, *or any body elſe talked of any ſuch thing; but he ſaid that Collonel* Parker *was in England, but did not ſee him. As for*

for the List of Men sent subscribed with the two Letters of his Name, he objected, The Witness did not see him write it, and Similitudes in Hands were never thought good in Cases Criminal. That though it was given against him in Evidence, That there were Horses to be bought and provided, yet it did not prove he bought any, nor had he a Horse any where. As to the sending any Note of Orders on the 15th of February, he denied that ever he sent any Note wherein there was any mention made of the King, or any Fact of that nature that was to be committed. That though the Evidence mentioned Four out of each Party, that were to be with Sir George Berklay, *he did not say he named any, nor names any himself.*

These Observations made upon Capt. *Porter's* Evidence, he proceeded on the like to Monsieur *De la Rue's*, viz.

That for the most part the Evidence he gave against him was by Hearsay, which he conceived ought to go for nothing. And as to his saying, he told him it would come to nothing, he did not say the Plot would come to nothing, for there was nothing at all spoken of any Plot, much less a Design to Assassinate the King. And so proceeded upon other Points to Extenuate the Evidence against him and his Accomplices, labouring to insinuate Impossibilities in many Particulars, especially in that part relating to carrying the King over alive into *France*, in which it was said he was to go to *Deal* and Hire a Vessel for the Purpose,

Purpoſe, affirming he knew no Seaman nor any Maſter of a Veſſel there.

As to Mr. *Pendergraſs*, he ſaid, *He did not think his Evidence much affected him, he having ſeen him but once of a great while, and that was the* Wedneſday *or* Thurſday *before he was taken up*; *and all that he ſaid of him was, that* Cranbourn *brought a Meſſage from him, that one time he Writ* R. Robinſon, *and another time he ſent a Liſt Subſcribed* R. C. *and that Capt.* Porter *ſhewed this Evidence both, but he looked on this as hearſay of Capt.* Porter's *Mouth*; and then laboured to inſinuate, as if they had contrived this Plot for their advantage, but the Court made him ſenſible of the contrary, for that they were not entituled to any Reward by the King's Proclamation, both of them having been apprehended, and had not apprehended any of their Accomplices.

As to Mr. *Bertram*, all he conceived in his Evidence that related to him was, that upon the Ninth of *February*, he ſhould take him into a back Room and tell him, *There was ſomething in hand for the Reſtoring King* James, *but there was ſomewhat to be done firſt, to take off the Spark:* That he had afterwards met him at *Lincolns-Inn* back Gate, where he told him, *There were Warrants out, and they had as good do the Buſineſs preſently:* The firſt of theſe he diſowned, ſaying, *It was improbable he ſhould impart a Secret of ſuch a Nature, to a private Trooper*; *beſides he could not, and believed no Body elſe could*

tell

tell what to make of the Words (taking off the Spark) *how to construe that to make it an Evidence of an Intention to kill the King*, yet owned it was probable he might say, *There was a noise King* James *would come: For* (as he said) *it had been in publick Prints, that there was such an Expectation and Preparation on for it on the Coast of* France: As for the latter (he said) *he did meet him at* Lincoln's-Inn-Gate, *the* Saturday *before he was taken up, and he did hear there were Warrants out; but there was no such Intimacy between them, that he should desire him to come to his Lodging, and that he would support him in any sort.*

There was one thing more to be observed in the Evidence, *viz.* That he said, *He might Ride out and take the Air, and there he should meet with some of his Acquaintance*; but from this he endeavoured to inter, That no Construction of a Design to kill the King could be gathered, since that if he had liked the Man so well as to send for him about such a Business, he would [illegible] his words into a better Meth[illegible] might have been one in the [illegible] it, &c.

This being [illegible] what he objected against the Evidence, he cited some Cases out of my Lord *Cook*'s Institutes, relating to what is required, to make an Overt-Act in Cases of High-Treason, and what was supposed not to be so; and after some more Discourse, desired the Court to tell the Jury plainly what Evidence it is the Law requires to

Convict

Convict a Person of the Crime he stood accused of, and what was necessary to make up that Evidence, what is legal proof of an Overt-Act, and what Overt-Acts had been plainly and manifestly proved against him, and not to leave the Construction of the Evidence to the Apprehension or Inclination of the Jury, tho' he needed not doubt their Justice: After this he made some Exceptions as to particulars in the Indictment, and was answered in some Points, but withal told, he moved that out of time, it being proper before the Jury had been Sworn, or after the Verdict given.

Mr. *King* said, *He insisted on many things Mr.* Charnock *had urged; but as to what related to him upon Capt.* Porter's *Evidence, about going with him and* Knightley *to view the Ground where the Design was to be executed, he owned he did go with them, but that it was meerly to take the Air.*

As to Mr. *De la Rue*, he said, *He doth not pretend to say, that he ever told him of any Design to destroy the King; and as to the Sword he mentioned, he knew he always wore one, and ever had one.*

As for Mr *Pendergrass*'s saying, he saw him at the *Rose* in *Covent-Garden*, where they discoursed something to the Matter; he said, he tells not what that Matter was, nor what the Discourse was, and for Mr. *Boyse* he did not tax him with any Design of killing the King; nay, that himself said, *He did not mention any such thing to him*; and as to the

the Matter of an Overt-Act, what is an Overt-Act, and what is not ſo, what is good proof of it, and what not, he entirely referred himſelf to the Court.

Keys made little defence, only alledging, That he was a Servant to Capt. *Porter*, and what he did was by his Command or Order; but was told, No Man is ſo much under the Command of his Maſter, as that he ought to obey him, if he commanded him to commit High Treaſon: For it had been plainly proved, he was told upon what Deſign he was engaged, and had bought Horſes, &c.

And 'twas plain he was by when Capt. *Porter* promiſed to lend Mr. *Pendergraſs* a Muſketoon that would carry 6 or 7 Bullets, which was deſigned to fire into the King's Coach, or to kill or lame the Horſes, that the Coach might be ſtopt, and ſaid, *He hoped he would not be afraid to break the Glaſs-Windows*; but now he ſaid, *He remembred no ſuch thing; his Maſter was pleaſed to jeſt with him ſometimes, and he might ſay a great many things that he did not regard.*

The Proceedings being to this effect, and the Priſoners no more to ſay, the King's Counſel ſummed up the Evidence in all its particulars from point to point, as it appeared, to charge each of the Priſoners of what was laid againſt them in the Indictment; and the Jury having the Charge given them by the Court, with all the Exactneſs and Candar imaginable, they withdrew to conſi-

der

der the Evidence, and within half an hour returned, and found them all three guilty of the High-Treason for which they were Indicted, and so the Court adjourned till Six in the Evening. At what time

The Prisoners being again set to the Bar, and making what Objections they could in arrest of Judgment, and they being particularly answered and over-ruled, Sentence passed upon them to be Drawn, Hanged and Quartered; and on *Wednesday* the 28th of *March*, they were conveyed to *Tyburn* in a Sledge, and there severally delivered Papers to the Sheriffs.

The substance of Mr. *Charnock*'s Paper was, That he owned the intended Invasion by the late King *James* on *England*, and that for the facilitating it, he did agree, with some others, upon the Undertaking, to Attack the Prince of *Orange* and his Guards; but that he never knew or saw any Commission from King *James*, for Assassinating him; that he did hear there was a Commission arrived for levying War, which was natural to believe, but never saw it; and lastly, he endeavoured to clear the Body of the *Roman Catholicks* from having any knowledge of the Design, it being communicated as he insisted but to a few.

The substance of Mr. *King*'s Paper was, That he never saw any Order or Commission of King *James*, for promoting the Assassination, for which he was Condemned, that the Design was never undertaken with any general

general Knowledge, or Approbation of any Body of Men, either *Catholick* or *Protestant*; and lastly, That he did not engage in it upon any King-killing Principles, that could justifie the Undertaking, but was drawn into it by his own Rashness and Passion.

Key's Paper had nothing at all in it of Publick Concern, but only some private Ejaculations of a dying Man.

It is generally held, they died *Roman Catholicks*, not admitting any Minister into the Cart with them; but, as 'tis supposed, Mr. *Charnock* did the last Office for himself and the other two: After they were turned off, and Dead, they were Quartered, and their Heads and Quarters set up on the several Gates of the City, as a Warning to others to deter them from such dangerous and detestable Undertakings; and now since some have been very desirous to know what these Men formerly were, I shall, as far as I have learned, give a brief Account of them.

As for Mr. *Charnock*, it is said, He was a Convert of *Obadiah Walker*'s, though some believe he was rather Converted by his own Interest, to entitle himself under the late King *James*, to the Vice-Presidentship of *Magdalen*-Colledge in *Oxford*, when the President and Fellows were turned out, against whom he was a main Stickler, but being turned out, he changed his course of Life, for coming to *London*, and taking Lodg-

ings

ings in *Norfolk-street*, he fell into the Acquaintance of a *Spanish* Gentlewoman, the Widow of Mr. *Price*, a *Cadiz*-Factor, who having raised himself to an Estate of 15000 *l.* left his Widow 4000 *l.* but in very bad hands; however, Mr. *Charnock* pretending to be a Gentleman of a good Estate, courted and marry'd her; but finding they were both deceiv'd in their Fortunes, they liv'd an unquiet Life together, till Mr. *Charnock* made a shift to make himself Master of 900 *l.* of her Money, and so long as that lasted kept his two Horses, and carried things at a high rate; but that being spent, and finding he could linger no more, he forsook her Bed about a Twelvemonth before this Misfortune befel him; he was brought up to Learning, and was a Person of considerable parts.

Mr. *King* was the Son of a Tire-woman in *Bow-street*, yet brought up like a Gentleman, he first lid in the Guards, and after was a Lieutenant under the late King, but since a good while out of Employment; so as it is to be believed, in hopes to mend his Fortune, he undertook to engage in this pernicious Design.

Keys had been a Trumpeter in a Troop, but losing his place, he hired himself to Capt. *Porter*, and appeared a very forward Tool in the designed Assassination.

The late King being very sensible, that his Design upon *England* had miscarried, and that his Friends here, on whom he more particularly depended, were secured, or crept into

Corners, that they were in no Condition to assist him, great part of the Forces that were drawn down to the Sea-coast, upon the Account of the intended Invasion, retired either to Winter-Quarters, or marched back to secure their Frontiers against the Confederates; and at length we have Advice, that himself sent word of the bad Success to the late Queen, who had put her self into a Monastery, to continue there during his Expedition, and impatiently waited the News of the Success; which having proved contrary to her Desire, Anger and Grief put her for some time under a Despondency of Body and Mind: However, the Court at St. *Germain's*, as well as that at *Versailles*, appeared much ashamed of the intended Assassination, since it miscarried, and labour all they can to stifle the Report of their knowing any thing of it, when by very many Circumstances they could not do other ways: Or why did Monsieur *Ametto* alter his Note in *Switzerland*? Or the Duke of *Berwick* be so confident of returning in three Months, as Embassador from *England* to the Court of *France*? Or how came the News to be spread there, That *King was killed a Hunting*, if they were ignorant of it? And indeed it appears, the Assassination was to be timed to the intended Invasion, by the Signal that was to be given from *Dover-Cliffs*: and to make this plainer, they had Coyned many Medals at the King's Mint, in *Paris*, to be distributed on the expected Success, by way of Boast, or Glory

in

ing in so black a Crime; and in one, particularly, their Malice seemed to have executed the Design in *Effige* before-hand, for under the borrowed Name of *Absalom*, they had represented His Majesty hanging in a Tree, with a Dart through his Heart, and the Motto, *Ecce Magnus Absolom:* Behold the Great *Absalom*. And within the Inner-Ring, *Digna Factis recepit:* He has been treated according to his Merits.

And it all along appears, Sir *George Barkley*, who was Lieutenant of the late King's Guards, came over on purpose to manage the wicked Design, to get, keep together, and encourage the Assassines; bringing over a Commission to Levy War on the King's Person. And Mr. *Harris* has sworn, He was Directed to him, and to Obey his Orders here; which was the Business of the intended Assassination: Nevertheless, it will from hence appear, that the *French* King was so far from putting a stop to such a piece of Parricide, that he encouraged it, and hastened his Forces to second the fatal Effect of the Blow.

Lastly, It is to be observed, That the Conspirators were tied to a time, the *French* King being willing to see *England* in a Hurley-burley, before he took the Field in *Flanders*; therefore it may properly follow, that the Conspirators fixed on the 15th of *February*. Now who can be reasonably thought to fix this time, but he who was able to get every thing in a readiness, to second the perpetra-

red Fact; which muſt then remain in *Lewis the Fourteenth*; for the late King had no numerous Forces, or Money of his own, to proceed in this Undertaking, but moved, as you have often heard, by the Councils, Dictates, and Orders of the former: And therefore, however it may be denied at the *French* Court, this Black and Unmanly Deſign, will ſtick as a laſting Stain on the Houſe of *Burbon*, and render it more deteſted by all the Princes of the Univerſe.

And now the Sword of Juſtice being unſheathed in *England*, an Indictment of High-Treaſon being found againſt Sir *John Friend*, for Compaſſing and Imagining the Death of the King, as likewiſe for Adhering to the King's Enemies, *&c.* and he having had timely Notice to prepare for his Tryal, and making his Defence, on the 23d of *March*, 1696, he was brought down to the *Seſſions-Houſe*, in the *Old-Bailey*. The Court being ſat, he was ſet to the Bar; where he deſired one *William Courtney*, who was, as he ſaid, a principal Witneſs, and in the *Gate-Houſe*, might be ſent for; and a *Habeas Corpus ad Teſtificandum*, was ordered by the Court, to bring him in the Cuſtody of a Keeper. Then Sir *John Friend* being order'd to hold up his Hand, the Indictment was read; to which he pleaded, *Not Guilty*; and for his Tryal, put himſelf upon God and his Country: Then deſired, *If any Matter of Law aroſe, he might be heard by Council.* In which being ſatisfied, if the Court ſaw it a Matter

Matter of Doubt, and that he ſhould have all the Benefit of the Law poſſible: He was order'd to look to his Challenges, and told as the former, how many he might Challenge without ſhewing any cauſe. And having taken his advantage in that, Twelve were ſworn; and the Jury being charged with him, the King's Council opened the Nature of the Indictment, and of the Evidence intended to be given againſt the Priſoner: and ſo proceeded to call and ſwear the Witneſſes.

But upon Capt. *Porter*'s coming in, Sir *John Friend* deſired to know, Whether he was a *Roman Catholick*, or a *Proteſtant*? But was told, That was no Objection againſt his Evidence; and that he was not bound to accuſe himſelf, yet might do it voluntarily; but he refuſing to anſwer it, as an improper Queſtion; and being further ſatisfied by my Lords the Judges giving him their Opinions in it, Captain *Porter* was ſworn, who deposed,

That about the latter end of *May*, or beginning of *July*, 1695, there were two Meetings, one at the *Old King's Head*, in *Leadenhall ſtreet*; and the other at Mrs. *Mountjoy*'s Tavern, the Priſoner being preſent; and that it was agreed at both of them, to ſend over Mr. *Charnock* to *France*, to Invite the late King *James* to come over into *England*, and prevail with the *French* King to accommodate him with 10000 Men, *viz.* 8000 Foot, 1000 Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons:

but Mr. *Charnock* made ſome ſcruple to go on a fooliſh Meſſage, as he termed it, unleſs he knew what they would promiſe to do. Whereupon all the Company did promiſe him, they would endeavour to come in to aſſiſt at the Invaſion with a Body of 2000 Horſe, where ever he would appoint. And after the ſecond Meeting, *Charnock* told him, he was to go in two or three Days. He heard talk of a Commiſſion; and heard Sir *John* ſay, *He would be as ready as any, when the time come.* And afterward ſeeing *Charnock*, he told him, *He had been in* France, *and ſpoke with the late King*; but he told him, *That the* French *King could not ſpare ſo many Men that Year*; *and that he had acquainted Sir* John *and others with that Meſſage.*

Another Meeting was at the *Nag's Head* in St. *James's*, but there they whiſpered together, and he could not tell what diſcourſe they had: But one time Sir *George Barkly* told him, *That ſome People, not ſo violent, wrote over to the late King to ſtop the Buſineſs.* Whereupon Sir *John Friend* ſaid, *Then you will have no Letters to Night: If any thing be hid from me behind the Curtain, I am not fairly dealt withal, and I will proceed no farther.*

This being the Sum of Capt. *Porter's* Evidence againſt the Priſoner, Mr. *Blair* was ſworn, who depoſed, He ſaw a Commiſſion, and read it, being a Commiſſion from the late King *James* to Sir *John Friend*; that

that he shewed it him, and it was for the raising a Regiment of Horse for the late King's Service, and that it was near a Year since, and that he was nominated Coll. of the Regiment; and promised to make the Deponant Lieutenant-Colonel, telling him one *Richardson* was to be one of his Captains; and he brought one *Fisher* to him, and he was to be one of the Eldest Captains: And one Capt. *Evans* told him he was to be Captain-Lieutenant; and one *Vernati* was to be a Captain; and that he endeavoured all he could to get Officers that would bring in Troopers; and spoke to Capt. *Barnsley*, who had been a Lieutenant in the late King's Service, to be Major, but sometimes he accepted it, and at others refused it; he said, he procured likewise one Mr. *Hall* a Merchant at *Deal*, and *Bartram* was to be his Lieutenant; that he had several Sums of Money of Sir *John Friend*, to Encourage and Drink with the Men; that one *Pigot* payed him first 20 *l.* and then 20 *l.* more by the Order of Sir *John*, it being an Account of Money he had once parted with to facilitate Coll. *Parker*'s Escape out of the Tower, that the whole of the Account was 100 *l.* which Sir *John* told him, King *James* had ordered the Re-payment of at St. *Germain*'s in *France*, and that *Pigot* there received it, but returning, refused to pay it, and that if he could get so much Money of him, he would allow it out of the 100 *l.* That he told him, He had received a Letter from

the late King *James*: That Coll. *Sclater* was to bring in 10 Horſes, and that he deſigned to make him Lieutenant-Collonel; adding, he would have two Lieutenant-Collonels in his Regiment; at which, when this Deponant ſeemed diſſatisfied, he told him, *Sclater* ſhould be Captain of a Troop of Non-ſwearing Parſons, for he believed he ſhould have a Troop of them, and they ſhould be Independant; that he called him out at *Jonathan*'s Coffee-houſe, a little before the Horrid Conſpiracy, or intended Aſſaſſination was diſcovered, and told him what he heard from *Fiſher* about the Diſcovery, and *Harriſon* the Prieſt, and he told him, They had heard of it, and were afraid it would ruine King *James* and his Affairs; that he met Sir *John Friend*, and he took him into his Coach at St. *Martins le Grand*, and he ſaid, *Then he would do nothing till the* Thoulon *Fleet, met the* Breſt *Fleet; and by that time,* (ſaid he) *we ſhall all be taken: p; but you may walk about the Town better than I, and you muſt be a good Husband of your Money, for Money will be very ſcarce: What do you think would mount you?* continued Sir *John.*) *I can't tell,* (ſays the Deponant) *that is according as I am mounted.* Then he ſaid, *He would mount but a few Indigent Officers:* He further told him, *He believed he ſhould Command the Regiment he was engaged in, and that* Sir John Fenwick *had ſome Troops of Horſe in a Readineſs.*

After

After this, the Witneſs produced a Letter ſent from Sir *John*, a little before he received the laſt 20 *l.* he believed it was his Hand, and afterwards he told him, he writ it, being to this purpoſe:

Mr. Blair,

YOU may much wonder you have not received an Anſwer of yours before, I have been afflicted with the Gout in my Hands and Feet, that I have not been able to put Pen to Paper; I thank God, I am now ſomething better, I hope to be in London *on* Thurſday *next, about Twelve, at* Jonathan's *Coffee-houſe, if the Weather don't prevent me; if not, I ſhall not come till* Monday *Morning: I do deſire you to meet me at that hour, for it is not convenient to write a Jot more, for ſome reaſon I can give. I am your Affectionate Friend,*

John Friend.

After this he did meet him accordingly, and he had order for 20 *l.* and he received the Money upon it of *Piggot*; that it was to meet and Drink with the Men to cheriſh them, and keep them together, and that he had no Dealings with Sir *John*, but on the Account of the Regiment; that being in Company with him and one *Ridley*, at a Chop-Houſe, near the *Exchange*, he heard *Ridley* ſay, *That there was a very ſenſible Man, a* Roman Catholick, *about ſixty Years old, gone over, and he believed he went to receive*

ceive the last Orders; to which Sir *John* replyed, *He knew not:* That a conſiderable time before, Sir *John* told him, *Ferguſon* would joyn with him, and bring in a great many Men; that he ſhowing him a Letter he was about to ſend to the late King, he told him, *He lik'd the Penning of it ſo well, he believed* Ferguſon *had a hand in it*; but he reply'd, *he had not*, and ſeemed angry at his ſo ſaying, yet afterwards told him, *He had an Anſwer to it.*

This being the material proof againſt Sir *John*, by theſe Witneſſes, he asked Capt. *Blair*, what Date the Commiſſion was, or if it were Signed or Sealed? As to the Date, he ſaid, *He knew not but that it was Signed* James Rex *above*; *and below, by his Majeſty's Command* Melford; and there was a little Seal on the Margin: Then Sir *John* proteſted, That the Money he had given him, was out of Charity, and that he had ſent to him making great Complaints of his Neceſſity: The Witneſs denied not that he had ſent to him, but he had before that impoveriſhed himſelf by laying out Money upon Sir *John*'s Buſineſs, it having coſt him many a Pound more than he had had of him; after theſe and ſome other Queſtions, which were plainly anſwered, as to his bringing Officers to him, encouraging the Men that were to engage, and about the Letter.

Mr. *Bartram* was ſworn, and asked, if he knew *Blair*? He reply'd, *He did:* And that he had told him for two Years almoſt paſt,

That

That Sir *John Friend* was to have a Regiment of Horſe raiſed about Town; that he was to be Lieutenant-Coll. and the Deponant ſhould be a Lieutenant under him, obliging him to bring in as many Men and Horſes as he could, and named to him divers Officers that were to be in the Regiment, as *Fiſher*, *Vernati* and *Cole*, to be Captains, and that he had Letters from beyond Sea relating to the Purpoſe.

But Sir *John* was told by the Court, This laſt Evidence was only to confirm *Blair*'s Teſtimony, and was no Evidence againſt him.

The Evidence for the King being thus far over, Sir *John* was directed to make his Defence.

And the firſt Objection he made againſt the Credit of the Witneſs was, *That they were not to be credited, becauſe they were* Roman Catholicks, *and that* Papiſts *thought it meritorious to Swear againſt* Proteſtants; labouring to prove by ſome Statutes, they were not to be admitted as good Witneſſes in ſuch caſes, but nothing in thoſe Statutes made for his purpoſe.

Next he inſiſted, That Capt. *Blair* had diſowned he knew any thing of the Plot, and that when he was told in the *Gate-Houſe* by *Courtney*, a Priſoner there, That it was reported, he was to be a Diſcoverer; he ſeemed to be troubled at it, as if it were againſt his Conſcience, and that his Wife had ſaid ſomething to that purpoſe. But Capt. *Blair*,

Blair, upon *Courtney*'s Evidence, denied it, saying, *He was ill, and did not desire to be troubled*; having given Order no Body should come at him, but his Wife; and yet Mr. *Courtney* intruded into his Room, positively affirming, on his Oath, That he never did say it was against his Conscience.

After this, Sir *John* produced divers to testifie, he was a Protestant; and that some of them had known him twenty Years, others longer, having been frequently in his Company, and never heard him reflect on the present Government; and one of them said, He did reprove those that reflected: And one that had been a Chaplain in his House, said, *He had read the Common-Prayer, and prayed for the present King, and late Queen* Mary, *and Sir* John *being present, seemed not to be disgusted at it; but he had been gone from him about Five Years, and had very little Conversation since with him.* He produced another that had been in his Company divers times, and had several Discourses with him, and that he said, *Though he could not Conform to the present Government, to take the Oaths, he would live peaceably and quietly under it, and be in no Plots, and that if they catched him in the Corn, they should put him in the Pound:* and to the like effect, though somewhat more at large.

The Evidence being over on both sides, the King's Council summed it up in the Particulars for the King, and as to what appeared on the behalf of the Prisoner, if any there-

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in might weigh to his advantage, with all the deliberation and fairneſs imaginable; after which the Court gave the Charge to the Jury, as to what the Priſoner was charged with upon the Indictment, and the Defence he had made; which being done, the Jurors withdrew, having looked on the Letter that was produced, as they went out; and within half an hour brought him in Guilty of the High-Treaſon charged againſt him; which being Recorded, he was Remanded to *Newgate*, the paſſing of the Sentence being deferred till the next Day: And then the Court Adjourned till ſeven of the Clock, *March* 24th.

The 24th the Court accordingly met, in order to the Tryal of Sir *William Parkins*, when a Meſſenger came from Sir *J. Friend*, to deſire, *That he might be heard a Word or two in Arreſt of Judgment.* Whereupon being ordered to be ſet to the Bar, and Silence commanded, he beſought their Lordſhips to give him leave, to move in Arreſt of Judgment; becauſe, as he ſaid, He *was not Convicted of High-Treaſon*; foraſmuch as Mr. *Porter* ſaid, *That he, with others, ſent to King* James *in* May *laſt, to obtain Men from the* French *King*; and that Capt. *Blair* ſaid, He *had a Commiſſion from King* James *to be a Colonel of Horſe.* But this he would have to be no Levying of War, and therefore alledged he was Convicted by one Witneſs upon this.

He

He was told, he was not Indicted for Levying War, but for Compassing the Death of the King; as for the Commission to raise Men, it was plain he had given Money to *Blair*, his Lieutenant-Collonel, to give to those of them that were to be of his Regiment: Then he made Protestations of his being as innocent as the Child unborn, of Assassinating the King, and desired the Court would hear his Counsel; but being told, it could not be allowed, and of what Nature the Treason was, of which, upon a long Tryal he had been found Guilty, *viz.* Conspiring to Levy War, to Dethrone the King; he humbly submitted, and desired he might have the Liberty of Friends to come to him, and to take Care of his Soul, that little time he had to live; which was readily granted, and he thereupon went from the Bar.

And then according to the Order of the Day, upon the last Night's Adjournment, Sir *William Parkins* was brought to his Tryal before the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, and Mr. Justice *Rookeby*, for High-Treason, in Conspiring with *Charnock*, and other Traitors, to Murder and Assassinate the King, and to procure an Invasion from *France*. Sir *William* pleaded to have his Tryal put off for some time, alledging that he was unprepar'd, wanted some material Witnesses, and had not the benefit of Council till *Friday* last. But was answer'd, That his Name had been inserted

ferted in the Proclamation, which gave him Notice of his Crime a conſiderable time before, and that he had been committed a Fortnight. He alſo deſir'd the Court, that a Trunk, with ſome Linnen, and other things, for the ſubſiſtence of his Family, which was ſeiz'd, might be reſtor'd; which was promis'd him. He pleaded to have the benefit of the New Act, for Regulation of Tryals in Caſes of High-Treaſon: But was told by the Court, That they were to act by Law, and not to make Law; and that the ſaid Act did not take place till the 25th. He challenged about thirty of the Jury, and two particularly, as being the King's Servants; which the Court told him, was no juſt Exception, but would not diſpute it with him, if there were enough beſides, as there happen'd to be. The Jury being Sworn,

The King's Council opened the Indictment, and charg'd the Priſoner with having agreed with others, to procure Forty Men to Aſſaſſinate the King in his Coach, and to Attack the Guards; that the Priſoner was to procure Five Horſes, and had provided Arms, &c. for the Deſign. That he had receiv'd a Commiſſion from the late King, to be a Collonel of Horſe; and in *May*, or *June* laſt, met at the *Old King's Head*, in *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, with Sir *John Friend*, Capt. *Porter*, &c. where they agreed to ſend *Charnock* to *France*, to procure Ten thouſand Men from thence, &c. as we mention'd in Sir

Sir *John Friend*'s Tryal. That in *January* laſt, Sir *George Barkley* was ſent from *France* to engage Perſons in the Aſſaſſination; that Twenty, or more, other Perſons, were ſent over about that time on the ſame Account: That Sir *George* brought a pretended Authority with him, being a Commiſſion from the late King, to Levy War againſt the King's Perſon, which he ſhewed to *Charnock*, and the Priſoner. That divers Conſults were held thereon at Capt. *Porter*'s Lodgings, the *Nag's Head* in *Covent-Garden*, and the *Sun* Tavern in the *Strand*; where they debated of the Way, Method, and Perſons, for executing the Deſign, and ſent *Porter*, *King*, and *Knightley*, to view the Ground: that they reſolv'd on the Lane betwixt *Brandford* and *Turnham-Green*, and in the Evening acquainted the Priſoner, Sir *George Barkley*, &c. with it; who agreed, that it ſhould be done there; and that Ten or Twelve ſhould attack the King in his Coach, and the reſt the Guards, as formerly mention'd. That the Fifteenth of *February* was the firſt Day appointed; but they were fruſtrated, the King not going a Hunting. That *Chambers* and *Durance*, were lodg'd at *Kenſington* as Orderly Men, to give Notice of the King's Motions; and that Lodgings were taken at an Inn in *Brandford*, for others of the Aſſaſſines. That being diſappointed on the Fifteenth, they reſolv'd to do it on *Saturday* the Twenty-ſecond, and met about it at the *Nag's-Head*, and in *Covent-Garden*, on the Twenty-

Twenty-first. That Capt. *Porter*'s Horſes falling lame, the Priſoner undertook to ſupply him with others, and particularly to procure Three from *Somerſet-Houſe*, by Mr. *Lewis*, Gentleman of the Horſe to the Earl of *Feverſham*. That having Notice from their Orderly Men, at *Kenſington*, of the King's being to go a Hunting, they prepar'd for the Attempt with great Joy. That the Priſoner had a great Quantity of Arms put up in Boxes about *Michaelmas* laſt, which were ſent to Mr. *Haywood*, *Charnock*'s Brother-in-Law, under the Notion of Valuable Goods: And that on the *Tueſday* after the Diſcovery, he ſent to remove the ſaid Goods, and order'd them to be buried in the Ground; but upon ſearch, they were found to be Thirty-two Carbines, Twenty-five Caſes of Piſtols, and Forty odd Swords without Hilts. That the Priſoner entruſted one *Sweet*, an Officer of the Exciſe, in the Affairs of the Plot, and told him, That he had Aſſurance of King *James*'s Landing, under his own Hand, and had made Preparations of Men and Officers to joyn him. That the Priſoner told *Sweet*, That he had met ſome of King *James*'s Friends, in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, went to Capt. *Scudimor*'s in his way, and at *Leiceſter* met Capt. *Yarborough*, who came from *York*, and others that came from the *Weſt*, and that they had ſettled a Correſpondence; that the *Weſt* was as well affected to King *James* as the *North*; that a Lord's Brother was concern'd in the matter; and that there

was

was no fear of the Miſcarrying of the Deſign. That the Priſoner ſent *Sweet* to order his Horſes to Town on the Fourteenth, the Evening before the Aſſaſſination was firſt deſign'd, and that they were provided with Saddles, Holſtar-Piſtols, Jack-Boots, &c. That he ordered his Horſes to be got ready, to go out of Town on the Fifteenth in the Evening, after the Aſſaſſination was to have been firſt perform'd, but ſtaid till *Monday*, and then return'd to Town again, the *Friday* before the Aſſaſſination was deſign'd the Second time, with *Holmes*, and Five Horſes and Piſtols, Jack-Boots, &c. and ordered his Servant to go early next Morning to *Kenſington*, to one *Brown* of the King's Kitchin, and tell him, That he was his Servant, and come from the Perſon that Lodged at the *Confectioner*'s over-againſt *Grey's Inn*, which appears to have been Sir *George Barkley*: That the ſaid *Brown*, who was one of the Orderly Men, writ in his Servant's Almanack, That he would be in Town in two Hours time: That the ſaid Servant went to Sir *George Barkley*, who went by the Name of *Rogers*, and deliver'd the Anſwer. That Sir *William Parkins* came to the *George-Inn* in *Holbourn*, where the Horſes were, and call'd for the Saddles, &c. under the Notion of having bought them for the Marquels *de Miremont*'s Regiment, and that the ſaid Horſes were carried away in a hurry on the Diſappointment.

Then

Then Captain *Porter* being Sworn, he depos'd, as to Sir *William*'s being at the Meetings above-mention'd, where 'twas agreed to send *Charnock* to King *James*, and that Sir *William* should head and furnish his Quota of the Two thousand Horse to joyn him: That he the said *Porter* lodg'd in the same House with Sir *William Parkins* and *Charnock*: That they refused to take him to the first Meeting with Sir *George Barkley*: That Sir *George* coming quickly after to see *Porter*, they had their Consults at the *Globe*, *Nag's Head*, and *Sun* Tavern, where the Prisoner, and others, agreed to send *Charnock*, &c. to King *James*. That Sir *George* told him, He had brought Three Hundred Pound to buy Horses, and had actually purchas'd Twenty. That Sir *William* was to procure Five, Two of which were to mount *Porter*'s Men, and that *Porter* was to procure Five or Six. That *Charnock* told him the said *Porter*, That Sir *William* had seen King *James*'s Commission, to Levy War on the Person of the Prince of *Orange*. The Evidence said, That Sir *William* told him the like himself, and that it was all writ with King *James*'s own Hand, because he would entrust no other with it. He depos'd likewise, as to Sir *William*'s appointing him, and others, to view the Ground for the Attempt on the King, and agreeing to it on their Report; that they had Consults about it at the *Nag's Head* in St. *James's*-street, and *Blue Posts* in *Spring-Garden*, where Sir *George Barkley* expres'd his Fears of a Dis-

Discovery. That Sir *William* said, He would not be in the Attempt himself, as having other Business, *viz.* that of his Regiment to look after; but agreed that it would be the easiest way to restore King *James*; and the Evidence was told, That Sir *William* had given order for his Horses to be ready for the Design.

Sweet depos'd, That Sir *William* told him about *Christmas* last, that his Troop consisted of old Soldiers; that he expected some old Officers as Volunteers; had bought Thirty Saddles; and had King *James*'s Word for his Landing: That he told him of his Meeting with King *James*'s Friends in *Leicester-shire*, as above-mention'd; and said to *Sweet*, at his own Lodgings in *Norfolk-street*, that he had some Business for him to do, but did not think fit to employ him in it, because of his Family, and sent him to order his Man to bring Three strong Horses to Town: That he ordered *Sweet* to come to him on *Saturday* the Fifteenth of *February*, at Eleven a Clock, when he found *Chambers* and *Lee* with him; and *Chambers* said, That he *wanted Revenge*; *having been wounded at the* Boyne.

Sir *William*'s Servant deposed, That he brought Three Horses to the *George-Inn*, in *Holbourn*, on *Friday* in *February* last: That his Master went out of Town the *Monday* after, and *Holmes* with him: That he and *Holmes* returned the *Friday* following, with Four Horses, and another Servant, having

Holster-

Holster-Pistols, &c, That one came to him, the Evidence, with a Note to go to *Brown* at *Kensington*, from the Gentleman that lodg'd at the Confectioner's; that *Brown* writ his Answer in his Almanack, with which he return'd to Sir *William*, and he ordered him to carry it to the Gentleman at the Confectioner's, who spoke broad *Scotch*, and then his Master ordered him to go home: That Mr. *Lewis* came to the *George-Inn*, and ask'd for the Saddles: That he, the Evidence, carried a Letter to *Evans*, his Fellow-Servant, to fetch the Boxes from Mr. *Haywood*.

Mr. *Haywood*'s Servant deposed, That Seven or Eight Boxes were brought to his Masters by Two of Sir *William*'s Servants, between Nine and Ten, on *Ashwednesday* at Night.

Mr. *Haywood* depos'd, That the said Boxes came to his House, with a Letter from Mr. *Charnock* his Brother-in-law, desiring him to lodge them: That he met Sir *William* about the Eighteenth of *February* last, at the *Temple* Coffee-House, who told him, He would dispose of the Goods by the first opportunity, and that when Sir *William*'s Servants came for them late at Night, he desir'd them to stay till next Morning, because it was an unseasonable Hour to remove them then, but they would not.

Another Country man depos'd, That the Prisoner's Man desir'd him to go with him to Mr. *Haywood*'s; met him about half a Mile from

from the House. and told him, He must not come near the same till it was late, and that they removed the Boxes, and buried them under a Wall: That he was present when they were taken up and search'd, and saw the Arms found in them.

The Constable, in whose House the Arms were lodged when taken, depos'd, That he saw 'em taken up where they were buried; that they consisted of Forty eight two-edged Sword-Blades, the Hilts being in a Box by themselves, thirty two Carbines, and twenty five Cases of Pistols.

The Hostler of the *George-Inn* depos'd, That Sir *William*'s Groom, and another Servant, brought five Horses thither the *Friday* Night before the Proclamation for Apprehending the Conspirators, four of which had Holster Pistols, and one was a led Mare; that they went away again on the *Sunday* in the Afternoon, having been hard rid and sweaty. That three other Horses had been there a Week before, which he was told Sir *William* ordered to be kept, that they came from *Somerset*-House.

The Tapster of the said Inn depos'd, That three Horses were kept there a Week before the said Proclamation: that five of Sir *William*'s were brought thither the *Friday* before the Plot broke out, and they were ordered to be got ready on *Saturday* morning; and that Mr. *Lewis*, Gentleman of the Horse to the Earl of *Feversham*, came to the Inn on *Saturday* in the Afternoon, before Sir *William*'s Horses went away.

Sir *William*'s principal Defence was, There was no Evidence to the Aſſaſſination but Capt. *Porter*, and that by the 25 *Edw.* 3. there ought to be two Witneſſes to convict a Man of Treaſon. But was anſwered, That to Aſſaſſinate the King, and to Dethrone him, was one and the ſame ſpecies of Treaſon, and that this was prov'd againſt him by two Witneſſes: That he that would Depoſe the King and Deprive him of his Defence, muſt be conſtrued to Deſtroy him. Sir *William* anſwered, That we had ſeen a King Depos'd, and yet was alive, therefore Conſpiring againſt him, and Deſtroying him, muſt be different Species. To which 'twas reply'd, That we knew of a King agreed to be Aſſaſſinated, and yet he was alive, and therefore the want of Succeſs did not make it a diſtinct Species of Treaſon; that two Overt-acts of the ſame ſort of Treaſon, prov'd by two different Witneſſes, was judged a ſufficient Conviction, and that the 25 *Edw.* 3. was ſo explain'd in *Richard the Second*'s time: That it was the Parliament's Opinion in the great Caſe of my Lord *Stafford*; and the meaning of the new Act of Parliament, which, as alſo that of the 25 *Edw.* 3. was read in Court. Sir *William* objected, That *Smart*'s Evidence was inconſiſtent with itſelf, to ſay, *That he told him that he had* King James's *Word for his Landing*, when he had never been out of the Kingdom, and that King *James* was in *France*. But was anſwered, That it was not impoſ-

impoſſible that he ſhould have ſaid ſo to *Sweet*, nor that he might have had it from King *James*'s own Mouth; but moreover, that what a Man writes may as well be call'd his Words, as what he ſpeaks.

As for the Arms he ſaid, That if time were allowed him, he could prove, that he found them in his Houſe in *Warwickſhire*, when he came firſt thither about two Years ago; to which it was replyed, That there was no Evidence to prove that, and if there were, that he ought to have deliver'd the Arms to the Government: That there had been Deſigns againſt the King for above two Years: and that it was prov'd by five Witneſſes, That he had provided and ſecreted thoſe Arms; and that no good reaſon could be given why they ſhould not have been publick as before: That the Evidence given by his own Servants, the Hoſtler, &c. as to the Horſes, and ſending to *Brown* at *Kenſington*, who appear'd to be *Chambers*, were concurring Proofs with that of Capt. *Porter* to the ſame Species of Treaſon: That his ſending for *Sweet*, and refuſing to employ him, becauſe of his Family; his ſending his Horſes to and fro, and having more than uſual, his harrying them away on the Diſappointment; hiding his Arms in a ſuſpected manner, by the Concurrence of *Chamock*, a ſuſpicious Perſon, who had confeſſed the intended Aſſaſſination, and his removing and burying them on the Diſcovery of the Plot, were all concurring Evidences

vidences. Sir *William* hereupon deſired the Jury to have pitty on his Age and Family, and to interpret things in the beſt ſence, where a Man's Blood depended on it. Which the King's Council took notice of, and told the Jury, That what had been ſaid was not to extinguiſh their Compaſſion, but Sir *William* ought to have had pitty on himſelf; and that the Party ſhew'd themſelves void of all pitty, when they perſued their Attempts to Murder the beſt of Princes, and the beſt of Men, and involve the Kingdom in Blood and Ruine. So that the Charge being given to the Jury, they withdrew for about half an Hour, and brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon. Sir *John Friend* was afterwards brought to the Bar, and alledged, That he was convicted only by *Porter*'s Evidence to one Overt-act, and deſir'd he might be allowed Council. But the Court made it appear, that Capt. *Blair* had alſo proved his giving of Money, &c. for the ſaid Deſign, and therefore they could not allow him Council on that Head. So that betwext ſix and ſeven a Clock the Common-Serjeant paſt Judgment upon Sir *William Perkins* and him both, as is uſual in Caſes of High-Treaſon: whereupon they were remanded to *Newgate*. And ſuch Friends as deſired to come to them at ſeaſonable times, had admittance, and particularly the Miniſters whom they approved, to forward them in a Preperation for that Death which was ſo near approaching.

And during the Reſpite a Committe of

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the Honourable House of Commons, were sent to know what Discovery Sir *William Perkins*, &c. would make, whereby some Attonement might be render'd for the Crimes committed; but this was altogether declined by the Prisoner, who made Excuses that he had been the occasion of drawing many Persons in, and he would rather die than throw their Lives into the hazard, though thereby he might save his own, or to this effect; so that finding him obstinately bent not to his discover his Accomplices, they returned and made their Report.

And now the Warrant signed for the Execution of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Perkins*, being brought to *Newgate*, they had notice to prepare for Death, and after 9 Days respite from the time they received Sentance, they were convey'd in a Sledge to the place of Execution, and their put into a Cart, where they said little of publick concern; they had 3 Non-jurant Parsons to assist them, *viz.* Mr. *Sneat*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Cholier*, who after they had prayed and were preparing for their last Exit, gave them Absolution; the Sheriffs indulged them in taking all the time they desired, and at last they each of them deliver'd the Sheriffs a Paper, desiring they might be Printed for publick satisfaction, especially Sir *John Friend*, who with great earnestness entreated it; and in his Paper he insisted to justifie himself upon the Cause he had espoused, *viz.* the Interest of the late King *James*, see-

seeming to have much confidence, he was mightily injured, and that he would one Day be Restored; he denied not he was concern'd in the matter charged against him, but that he had not notice the intended Descent was in any such forwardness, and consequently himself not in so forward a preparation as was alledged; he owned himself to be a Member of the Church of *England*, though as he in his Paper says, an Unworthy one; he seems to be sorry he had objected at his Tryal against the Legality of *Popish* Evidence against *Protestants*, desiring it might not be took by them as an uncharitable Censure, because what he did in that case was for his own security upon the foundation of a Statute Law: he desired to Die in Charity with all Men; yet made some Reflections upon the Account of the Assassination, being insinuated at his Tryal, and so concludes with some Admonitions, and expressing a willing Resignation to Die, winding up all with a Prayer, wherein he particularly takes notice of the late King and Queen, and his little Master.

Sir *William Perkins* in his Paper delivered at the same time, owned he had seen a Commission from the late King, but it was not as had been alledged, to levy War upon the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, but the tenour of the Commission was general, and directed to all his loving Subjects, to raise and levy War against the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents; and to seize all

Forts, Caſtles, &c. yet he owns he was privy to the Deſign upon the King, but was not to Act in it, and thought it, for his Honour, to ſay he was entirely in the Intereſt of the King, (meaning the late King *James*) and ſo perſiſts to inſinuate his Right and the Injury he ſuppoſed he had received; concluding, he freely forgave all the World, asking hearty Pardon of whom ever he had injured.

Theſe are briefly the Sum of theſe Gentlemens Papers, ſigned with their Names, and delivered with their own Hands, wherein the Proceedings againſt them are juſtified in ſo plain Confeſſions, that no ſcruple is left for doubt; but this Plot in both its Branches ſpringing from one wicked Root, was carried on with all the Zeal and Induſtry imaginable; and it appears, ſome cunning Shophiſters of Jeſuits, or others, that come very near them, had ſo corrupted Sir *John Friend*'s Judgment, that he further in his Paper declares, *He verily believes this Pernicious Undertaking to be the Cauſe of God*; and Sir *William Perkins* but lamely excuſes the Commiſſion, when he ſays, *It was not to levy War upon the Perſon of the Prince of* Orange but, which certainly is all one, in any reaſonable Man's Conjecture, *viz.* to raiſe and levy War againſt the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents; for all the difference in it can ſcarcely make any plauſible *Equivocation*, much leſs to induce us to believe the intent was not one and the ſame,

ſeeing

seeing Sir *George Berkley* came over on purpose to gather and encourage Persons to undertake the intended Assassination.

But to proceed, The Bodies being cut down, were Quartered according to Sentence, and the Quarters set up on *Temple-Bar*, and other publick Places about the City; soon after the three Absolving Parsons, for doing that Office to Men who dy'd justifying the Crimes for which they suffer'd, and some other Reasons, had Warrants issued out against them, and two of them, *viz.* Mr. *Cook* and Mr. *Sneat*, being soon after apprehended, were committed to *Newgate*, upon Suspicion of Treason and Treasonable Practices, several of the Reverend Clergy declaring their dislike, and disowning the Proceedings of those Persons in their giving Absolution so rashly, if not unadvisedly.

As for the suffering Persons, Sir *John Friend*, from a mean Condition, some say, a Dray-man, others a Tun-man, raised himself by his Industry and Marriage, to a competent Fortune, having been a Master-Brewer of considerable Dealings for many Years, and by his Incomes purchased a pretty Estate, on which he might have lived comfortably all his Days, had not his own Rashness, and being too much swayed by disaffected Persons, so blinded him, that he could not discern his true Interest from a false one, that precipitated him into ruine, and left a lasting stain on his Memory.

Sir *William Perkins* was a Gentleman by Birth, and had been brought up to the Study of the Law; he had a ſmall Eſtate lying about *Buſkey* in *Hartfordſhire*, and ſome other places; he had not long ſince a conſiderable Place depending on the High Court of *Chancery*, but it ſeems, being diſguſted at the preſent Government, to prevent, as is ſuppoſed, taking the Oaths to be true to it, he ſold it for 6000 Pounds, moſt of which Money it is thought he ſpent in advancing the Intereſt of the late King; in which, as he ſays in his Paper, he was entirely in, as always being firmly perſwaded of the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and looked upon it as his Duty, as a Subject and *Engliſhman*, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of his Throne, &c. And in the ſame Paper tells you boaſtingly, he thought it was for his Honour to ſay, *That he was ſo:* He left behind him a Wife and four Children, but had ſo far run out in theſe, and ſuch like Intrigues, that he left them but very ſleeder Fortunes to ſubſiſt on. And now after all this further plain Demonſtration of a Plot and Conſpiracy, by the Confeſſion of the dying Conſpirators, it is a pleaſant thing to conſider how *M. Devizes*, the Author of the *French* Mercury is puzzled to palliate the Miſcarriage of the Deſign; for, ſays he, at the end of his Mercury for the Month of *March*,

The News from *England* having failed us for want of three Gazettes, we can only attribute this delay to the bad condition of

Affairs

Affairs in the Country; the Diſorders of which they would fain conceal: The Prince of *Orange* is convinc'd he has not the Hearts of his People, which is the reaſon that he has ſent for 20000 Men from Countries, where ſuch a Force can be but ill ſpared: There is no News of the King of *England*, (meaning King *James*;) nor indeed is there any neceſſity for him to act more than he does, till he ſees his Kingdoms all in confuſion, where the Prince of *Orange* has feigned a Conſpiracy againſt himſelf, and charged three or four Perſons with a Deſign to have Aſſaſſinated him, that never ſtirred out of the Caſtle of St. *Germains en Lay*, and are there ſtill: There are a hundred Contradictions in what they publiſh at *London*, touching the Conſpiracy; I will give ſuch a particular account of it, that the World ſhall no longer doubt of the Falſhood of what is affirmed upon this Subject.

Did this ſtuff deſerve a Refutation, it might be done with eaſe even in *France*, but this *Devizee* is a Man ſo terribly inſolent, and ſo cryed down, that there is no fear of the Publicks giving Credit to his Fables: This however is obſervable, That whilſt he is labouring to clear his Maſter from the Guilt of the Conſpiracy, he has blundered out very ſuſpicious Expreſſions, as I am not apt to believe, before he was aware: *For* (ſays he) *we hear nothing of King* James, *nor indeed is there any neceſſity for him to act more*

than he does, till he sees his Kingdoms all in Confusion: That I suppose, in his sence is, all in confusion and distraction, terrified, astonished, without Conduct, without Obedience for want of their Soveraign Head, or Chieftain, by the Assassination of King *William.*

This certainly must be the genuine Construction of the Words, that will not naturally bear any other signification: But we have the happiness to see that defeated, and the King centered in the Love of his Subjects, so that there is not the least appearance of any likelihood they will fall into Confusion.

There having been an Indictment of High-Treason found against *Ambrose Rookwood, Charles Cranbourne,* and *Robert Lowick,* by a *Middlesex* Jury, at the Court of *King's-Bench, Westminster,* they were brought up, and severally Arraigned, and pleading not guilty, had Council assigned them to advise with, a Copy of the Indictment allowed, and a Pannel of the Jury summoned to try them according to the direction of the Act, commencing the 25th of *March* last, for regulating Tryals in case of High-Treason, and were remanded to *Newgate* to prepare for their Defence, having about a Weeks time allowed them; when

On *Tuesday* the 21st of *April,* they were again brought up in order to their Tryals, when the Court being sat, about Eight in the Morning, their Council moved to put off

off the Tryal, becauſe the Pannel of the Jury, according to the new Act, ought to be delivered two Days before the Tryal, and that it could not be ſaid truly to be delivered, till returned by the Sheriff into Court, with ſome other Exceptions; but the King's Council anſwering this and the other Objections, and the Court ſeeing it was not a ſufficient cauſe to put off the Tryal; *Rookwood*, who was firſt Tryed, was ordered to look to his Challenges, upon calling over the Jury, which he did, and excepted againſt more than twenty.

Then the Indictment was read, ſetting forth, That the Priſoner with *Cranbourne*, *Lowick*, *Knightley*, and divers others falſe Traytors, had conſpired the Death of His Majeſty, to ſubvert the Government, and Invite, or bring in a Forreign Power to Invade the Kingdom, with much more at large charged againſt him. Then the Priſoner's Council made Exceptions to the Indictment after the Jury was Sworn, in order to quaſh it, but were told, this was offered out of time, and being over-ruled, they ſubmitted to the Court; then the Witneſſes were called, and firſt Capt. *Porter*, who depoſed, (being ſworn) How the Deſign was carried on in general, as has been in other Tryals declared, and particularly to the Priſoner, that he was preſent at a Conſult held at the *Globe-Tavern* in *Hatton-Garden*, where there were Sir *G. Barklay*, Mr. *Charnock* and himſelf, there the intended Aſſaſſination was diſcourſed

ſcourſed of, and then Mr. *Rookwood* ſeemed to diſlike it as hazardous and full of dangers; but after Sir *George* had diſcourſed him, and asked him if he would not obey Orders, telling him withal, he ſhould Command one of the Parties; he ſaid, Then there's an end of it; the meaning of which Expreſſion the Deponant took for his conſent in complying to be one in the Undertaking: That on *Saturday*, *Feb.* 15. when the firſt Attempt was to be made to Aſſaſſinate the King, one of the Orderly Men brought word to the Deponant's Lodging, That the Guards were gone, and that the King was to go a Hunting, attended by many Gentlemen, then they fear'd their Deſign would be ſpoiled; but the Witneſs told them, *Thoſe Gentlemen would ſoon diſperſe themſelves after the Hunting*; and ſo they reſolved to go on with their Deſign, and to prepare themſelves accordingly, and that Mr. *Rookwood* was one of the number: But however they were then diſappointed by the King's not going abroad; that he gave Mr. *Rookwood* a Liſt of the Names of thoſe that were to be concerned, and that he was to be one of them.

Hereupon Mr. *Rookwood*'s Council objected againſt Capt. *Porter*'s being a legal Evidence, for that he had been Convicted of Man-ſlaughter for the Death of Sir *James Hacket*, and produced the Record, but it appeared he had King *Charles the Second*'s Pardon for it, and that there had been ſeveral

ral General Pardons ſince, by which it was pardoned, if he had not had the former. Then they called Mr. *Milford*, Mr. *Oldfield*, and one *Black Will*, to prove him of a Wicked, Debauch'd Life and Converſation, but inſtead of that their Evidence made for his Credit, ſaying, they knew no harm by him: *Black Will* ſaid, he had been his Servant, and he had been a very good Maſter to him; and all that was ſaid in the matter, as to his Diſ-reputation, was, *That he would talk of Whoring ſometimes.*

This being briefly the Evidence of Capt. *Porter*, Mr. *George Harris* was Sworn againſt him; the Priſoner's Council made ſome Exceptions, for that he had diſcovered and apprehended him, and was to have the 1000 *l.* and a Pardon promiſed in the Proclamation, which might engage him to ſwear againſt him for Lucre and Self preſervation, but were told by the Court, it was a miſtake, for that the Money, *&c.* was already his Right upon the Apprehending, and if the Priſoner had never been Tryed, he muſt have had it, according to the words of the Proclamation, which being read, convinced them they were in the wrong, then he proceeded to give his Evidence, the Sum of which was as followeth:

That he was ſent from *France* with one *Hare*, to obey the Orders of Sir *George Barkley*, and ſoon after they arrived at *London*, where they attended *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*, to find Sir *George Barkley*, but did

did not; yet meeting with one *Birkenhead*, with whom they had some Acquaintance, he told them where Sir *George* was; and after that they had Subsistance from him, *viz.* 5 *s. per* Day, when they had no Horses, and were promised 6, when they had got Horses: He further deposed, That going to wait on Sir *George*, he told him what he was to do, *viz. That he and others, were his* Janizaries, *and must Attack the Prince of* Orange; whereat, hearing he was sent over to assist in killing the King, he expressed some discontent, saying, *He was sent over, instead of being recompenced for his Service, to be Sacrificed.* He deposed, That Mr. *Rookwood* was not very hot, or forward in the Design, but that he was there when the Assassination was agreed to, and did agree to be one in it, telling him, *He should be one of his Part*, and gave him a List of the rest that were to be under him; That he went by a counterfeit Name, *viz. Roberts*; and the late King had ordered this Deponant on his coming over, to go by the Name of *Jenkins*. This Evidence being given,

The Earl of *Feversham*'s Postillian and Coachman were Sworn, and gave the Court an Account, Mr. *Lewis*, Gentleman of the Horse to the said Earl, kept six or seven Horses in close Stables at *Sommerset-House*, which were often carried out, and brought in, in a suspicious manner; and of these it was said by the other Witnesses, that Brigadier *Rookwood* was to have one or two of them

them to mount and fill up his Party, or that it was ſo diſcourſed.

The King's Council having ſumm'd up the Evidence, the Jury withdrawing about half an hour, brought in their Verdict, *That* Ambroſe Rookwood *was Guilty of High-Treaſon*; and the Court Adjourned till four in the Afternoon.

The Court being again ſat, Mr. *Charles Cranbourne* was ſet to the Bar, his Council laboured to find a defect in the Indictment, but there appearing none, The Tryal commenced: The Evidence againſt him was, Capt. *Porter*, M. *De la Rue*, and Mr. *Pendergraſs*, his Indictment was the ſame; it was proved againſt him, That he was privy and conſenting to the Deſign, had provided Horſes and Arms, carried the Liſts of the Names of ſuch as were to be Actors in it, from one Perſon to another; and it was poſitive, that himſelf was to be one; that he had procured a Sword-Cutler to furniſh Arms and other things paralliel to the Evidence againſt the former.

Hereupon he called a Witneſs to diſcredit Capt. *Porter's* Evidence, *viz.* a Maid that had liv'd with him, to prove that he had Masks, or Viſiards, which he would have inſinuated, were to be made uſe of on the High-way; but no ſuch thing appearing, that Objection was laid aſide: Then one *Gun* was called to prove, That at the *Sun Tavern* in the *Strand*, he was with the Captain and himſelf the Night before the deſigned

ſigned Aſſaſſination was to have been; whereas he alledged, Capt. *Porter* ſaid, *There was no Body with him*; but the Captain not being poſitive in that, and *Gun* depoſing he left the Priſoner at the Tavern, this weighed as little to his advantage as the former; ſo that after a hearing of all that the Priſoner or his Council could ſay, the Evidence was ſum'd up, and the Jury withdrawing, in leſs then half an hour returned their Verdict, *That* Charles Cranbourne *was Guilty of High-Treaſon*; and the Court Adjourned to ſeven next Morning.

When Major *Robert Lowick* was brought to his Tryal, and having the ſame Council, they pleaded very much to have the Indictment quaſhed; but the King's Council anſwering their Objections, the Tryal came on;

And Mr. *Harris* being ſworn, he depoſed, That Maj. *Lowick* had diſcourſed Sir *George Barklay*, at a Confectioner's near *Gray's-Inn*, and that the Deponant talking with the Priſoner about the Deſign, expreſſed his Abhorrence of it, as a thing that would be odious in the Eyes of all the World; but Major *Lowick* reply'd, *He would obey Orders, and was ſure Sir* George Barklay *would not Enterprize it without Orders*; that he Din'd with him the 22d of *Febr.* and they feared the Buſineſs was diſcovered, and then he told him, *He maintained two Men upon this Deſign at his own Charge, and now muſt go and diſcharge them, the e being no further*

ſufficient occaſion for them; it being muttered, that M *De la Rue* had made a Diſcovery.

Mr. *Bertram* depoſed, That in *February* Major *Lowick* told him, *That there was ſomething to do that might be advantageous to him*, but withal required him to ask him no Queſtions: That on the 14th of *Febr.* he told him, *He muſt Ride out, and that the King was to be ſeized in his Coach*; and thereupon he gave him a Guinea to buy Neceſſaries, to prepare for the Undertaking the next Day, but he did not meet, as thinking the Deſign not only dangerous and full of hazard, but unlawful and baſe, and at the next Meeting he chid him, becauſe he came not, ſaying, *He would have ſerved him ſo, if the King had been in the Field.*

Capt. *Fiſher* gave Evidence, That Major *Lowick* ſaid, *He would be ready to ſerve King* James *to the utmoſt*; and withal, as a caution, told him, *It was not ſafe to talk about ſuch things to above one at a time.*

This being in brief the ſubſtance of the Evidence againſt the Priſoner, the Jury going out, within half an hour returned their Verdict, *That* Robert Lowick *was Guilty of High-Treaſon*: After which, Mr. *Rookwood* and Mr. *Cranborne* were brought to the Bar, and all three receiv'd Sentence of Death to be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quarter'd.

On the 29th of *April*, after eight or nine Days reſpite, to prepare themſelves for a future State; the Warrant being come for their

their Execution, they were conveyed in a *Sledge* to *Tyburn*; where, being put into a Cart, *Cranburne* ſaid, He was of the Church of *England*; owning what Capt. *Porter*, Mr. *Pendergraſs*, and Monſieur *De la Rue* had ſworn againſt him was true; yet ſeemed to ſtand in the Juſtification of what he had done, vainly ſtiling it a Righteous Cauſe, for which he ſuffered; nor was he leſs careful to remember in his Devotion the late King and Queen, *&c.*

As for *Rookwood* and *Lowick*, they were of another Religion, *viz. Roman* Catholicks, and therefore their Devotions conſiſted moſtly of *Jeſu Maria*'s and *Patr Noſters*; and both of them order'd their Papers to be delivered to the Sheriffs; the ſubſtance of them was this, Mr. *Rookwood* declared in his Paper, He intended to have died in ſilence, but ſecond Thoughts of his Duty to the late King, had moved him to leave this behind him, *viz.* That he never knew, ſaw, or heard of any Order or Commiſſion from him, for the Aſſaſſination, or Attacking the Guards; but had been informed he had rejected ſuch Propoſals when made to him: But that himſelf, as a Soldier, by his immediate Commander, much againſt his Judgment, was engaged in it. [*Inſinuating, as if he was to Obey, and Act according to Command; though no reaſonable Man could think any Command was binding to undertake ſo wicked an Act.*] He acknowledged he had ſerved the late King 12 Years, and

and was free to lay down his Life in his Cause. And though in the Paper he says, He ever abhorred Treachery, even to an Enemy: [*Yet in this he utterly contradicts himself; For what greater Treachery could there be, than to agree to lay wait for a Prince that never injured him, and by Surprize, murder him in cool Blood.*] He seems angry with the King for signing the Warrant for his Execution, because being a Soldier, he did not consider his Case. [*As if the King, because he is a Soldier, had any reason to spare a Soldier that design'd to Murder him the basest of ways.*] He asks Forgiveness, and says, he forgives every Body from his Heart; but seems to conclude with an odd kind of Menace; *But that God who has hitherto protected His Majesty in so many eminent Dangers, will, no doubt, still preserve him from the Rage and Malice of Wicked and Violent Men.*

Mr. *Lowick*, in his Paper, appears more moderate, saying, He died in the Religion he was Baptized in, *viz.* the *Roman Catholick*; he denied, as the other, that he saw any Commission for the Assassination; but believed the late King was coming, and that if he had Landed, he would have done any thing in his power to have assisted him; and in order to that, he should have been glad to have had a Horse, though before he had none. As for his being concerned in any bloody Affair, as he there expresses it, he alledged, he never was in his Life, but endea-

deavoured to prevent, as much as he could, on all occasions; and goes on, fain to make us believe, That if the killing the most miserable *Creature* in the World, or greatest *Enemy*, would have saved his Life, Restored the late King, and made him one of the greatest Men in *England*, he would first chuse to die, because it was against the Law of God. Though a little before he owns, he would have been in Arms to assist in the Desolation of his Country, and Destruction of many Lives, upon the Landing of a Forreign Force, for no other it would have been had they prevailed, or had they not, much Blood must have been spilt. The rest is his asking Forgiveness and Pardon of those he had offended; praying for the late King and Queen, and all the Royal Blood of the *Stuarts*, &c. He said, he had had the Honour to serve the late King in several Commissions, the last as Major, and strove ever to serve him to the best of his power, and ever was just to those he had the Honour to Command.

After they were turned off, and hung the usual time, they were cut down and Quartered, and their Quarters placed on the City Gates.

As for Mr. *Rookwood*, he was Born of a good Family, but living beyond his Fortune, was constrained to take a Soldier's Life upon him, being a Trooper in the *Hounslow-Heath* Camp, and following the late King's bad Fortune into *France*, he was so far taken

ken notice of, as to be advanced to the Nominal Preferment of a Brigadier in the Guards, and had the Stile of Capt. *Rookwood*, though without the Pay, or Profit of the Place; ſo that Sir *George Berklay*, a *Scot*, being his Lieutenant-Coilonel, he was ſent over hither to act by his Orders, and Engaged in the fatally intented Miſchief, that brought him to this Untimely End.

Cranbourne was the Son of a *Seeds-man*, in the *Strand*, very Wild and Extravagant in his Youth, not to be reclaimed by his Induſtrious Parents, but throwing himſelf upon Extravagant Company, and beyond all retrieve, he was left to a deſperate Fortune, which made him, as a *Laſt Shift*, betake himſelf to a *Soldier's Life*, but the Army commanded by the Earl of *Feverſham*, being Disbanded, on the Revolution, he loytered up and down, and had ſome little Subſiſtence from his Friends, ſupplying the reſt by Gaming, and ſuch like Intrigues, and being in this Condition, fit to be wrought on, thinking to better his bad Fortune, he was drawn into this Buſineſs, and appeared a very zealous and forward Tool in promoting it, not ſhewing any Token of Reluctancy to the laſt Moment of his Life.

Lowick, as the other were Young, was a Man of Years, come of a good Family in *Yorkſhire*, but run out his Eſtate; he was a Major under the late King, and appeared to take much Pleaſure in a *Soldier's Life*, having in one Station or other, followed it almoſt

moſt from his Youth, and though he was a very wary and ſenſible Man, yet being a *Roman Catholick* born, and diſguſted with the preſent Government, he engaged with others, out of a heat of blind Zeal, for the the carrying on this wicked Deſign, though at his Death he ſeemed to Evade it.

By theſe Proceedings of Juſtice, our Enemies no doubt perceive the Government is in earneſt, whom they thought for a while only dallied with them, which, it is hoped, will make diſaffected Perſons more cautious how they attempt to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom for the future.

Thus the Kingdom, in a great meaſure, being by the Providence of Almighty God, and His Majeſty's indefatigable Endeavours, ſecured from Forreign Invaſion, and Domeſtick Conſpiracies, His Majeſty began to think of haſtening his return to the Army in *Flanders*; to which purpoſe, that he might put an end to the preſent Seſſions of Parliament, on the 27th of *April* he repaired to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the ſeveral Acts.

After this, he was graciouſly pleaſed to impart his Mind to both Houſes in the following manner.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOu have ſhewn ſo great Concern for my Perſon, and Zeal for my Government, and have done ſo much for the Preſervation of the one, and for the ſtrengthening the other, by the

the good Laws which have been made, and by the Supplies you have provided for the ſeveral Occaſions of this Year, that the late Deſigns of our Enemies are (by the Bleſſing of God) like to have no other Effect, than to let them ſee how firmly we are united, and to give me this Occaſion to acknowledge your Kindneſs, and to aſſure you of all the Returns which a Prince can make to his People.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Neceſſity of Affairs require my Abſence out of the Kingdom for ſome time; I do earneſtly recommend to you, That in your ſeveral Stations you will be aſſiſting to thoſe who I ſhall have to Adminiſter the Government; and that you will be careful in preſerving the publick Peace of the Kingdom.

So ſoon as His Majeſty had done ſpeaking, the Lord Keeper, by His Majeſty's Command, Prorogued the Parliament, till *Tueſday* the 16th Day of *June*.

During this *Solemnity*, not one of the Nobles were permitted to enter the Houſe without their *Robes of State*; and the Reaſon, as is ſaid, was to the end the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, who arrived in *London* on the 11th of *April*, and were invited to the *Solemnity*, might be Spectators of their Grandure, and perhaps it might be ſaid, *Had it been poſſible for them to have ſeen the Senate of* Rome *in all her antient Glory, they could not have been pleaſed with a more Magnificent Sight.*

Soon

Soon after this, His Majeſty's Equipage was made ready, in order to his Embarking for *Holland*, where he ſafely Landed, to breath once more a Terror on the Armies of his Enemies, and, in Martial Thunder, ſpeak aloud his Reſentments of the Treachery contrived at the *French* Court, to hinder him, as, no doubt, they hoped, from winning the Lawrels due to his Merit, Courage and Fame.

And now *Lewis* XIV. if he dare venture ſo near, as a Proſpective-Glaſs Kenn, may have the Mortification to ſee Heavens Favourite, defying his Malice and utmoſt Force at the Head of his Victorious Troops.

Mr. *Peter Cook*, having been Apprehended and Committed to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon, an Indictment was ſome time after found againſt him at the *Old-Baily*, and he had notice to prepare for his Tryal, when on the 9th of *May* he was brought to the Seſſions-Houſe in order to it, but few of the Jury Impannell'd appearing, there was only nine, beſide what he excepted, could be Sworn, whereupon his Tryal was put off, till *Wedneſday*, *May* 13. when his Council laboured in their Pleading, to have the Indictment quaſhed, by reaſon of ſome Deficiency they alledged in the former Pannel, and afterward proceeded to make ſome Exceptions to the Indictment, but being over-ruled by the Court, they ſubmitted: Then the Priſoner deſired the Courts Opinion, if he might not make an Exception in the Pannel

to

to such Jury-men as he might make proof against to have said, *He should be found Guilty, or suffer Damage*; and was answered, *He might*: Then one of the Jury-men was asked that Question, but denied to have said any such thing. Then the Court told him, *It was not fair to offer such Questions to the Jury-men, for they were not bound to Accuse themselves; and if any of them had so said beforehand, it was Opprobrious.*

Upon this the Pannel was called over, and Mr. *Cook* questioned each, as called, *Whether he was a Freeholder of* 10 l. per Annum, *or were of the Grand Jury that found the Bill?* So that some who appeared not to be Freeholders, were set aside; and after he had made his Exceptions against 35, twelve were Sworn, and then the Court proceeded to the Tryal upon the Indictments being read, which was laid, for Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King, &c. And the Overt-Act was, *That the Prisoner, on the first of* July, *in the Seven.th Year of His Majesty's Reign, did, with several other Traytors, consult about Methods to facilitate the late King's Reforation, and agreed with them, That* Charnock *should be sent over to* France, *to sollicit the late King to obtain* 8000 *Foot,* 1000 *Horse, and* 1000 *Dragoons from the* French *King*, &c. *to Invade* England; *and that to assure the late King, that they would joyn him on his Landing with* 2000 *Horse.*

The

The Prisoner mov'd, before the Witnesses were examin'd, that the one of them might not hear what the other swore; which the Court told him, was not necessary to be granted, but however, they would allow it him.

Then the King's Council opened the Indictment, and gave the same Narrative of the Plot, which we have given in other *Trials*; observing, that the Prisoner and others, met in *May* last Year, after the King was gone to *Flanders*, at the *Old King's Head* in *Leadenhall-street*, where were present, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Perkins*, Capt. *Porter*, Capt. *Charnock*, the Prisoner, and others; and Mr. *Goodman* came in after Dinner: And consulting about Restoring the late King, they thought then they had a proper Opportunity, because of the King's Absence, and that most of our Troops were in *Flanders*. The King's Council added, *That though the Assassination was the blackest part of the Plot, yet it was undertaken in hopes of a* French *Invasion, and therefore the Invasion must not be look'd upon as a diminutive Crime.* Then Capt. *Porter* was set up, who depos'd, as to the Meeting of the Prisoner, and the rest, at the *Old King's Head* in *Leadenhall-street*, where they consulted, and came to the Result, of sending *Charnock* into *France*, &c. to which the Prisoner agreed: And that upon *Charnock's* desiring a second Meeting, to know if they persisted in their Resolution, the Prisoner, and the rest, met accord-

ingly at Mrs. *Montjoy*'s House in *Covent-Garden*, where the Prisoner agreed again to the sending of *Charnock* to *France*, &c. as above.

The Captain did also depose, That they thought to escape after the *Assassination*, because of the *French* Invasion, which Sir *George Berkley* told them would be in five or six Days after; and he remembred, that the *Meeting* was in *May*, because he was taken up for the *Drury-Lane*-Riot in a little time after.

Then Mr. *Goodman* was set up, who depos'd, That about the middle of *May*, last Year, Capt. *Porter* sent word to him, That there was to be a meeting of the late King's Friends, at the *Old King's Head*, in *Leaden-hall-street*, to which the Deponant promis'd to come after Dinner; and having gone thither accordingly, he sent up his Name to Capt. *Porter*, who came and carried him up with him to the Room, where there were the Prisoner at the Bar and others; that they fell into discourse about facilitating the late King's Restoration, and agreed to send *Charnock* to *France*, &c. with the Message above-mentioned, and to assure the late King, in all their Names, that they could join him with 2000 Horse to favour his Descent, and with more if they could: That there happened some Debate about the Number; and Sir *John Friend* alledged, That the late King had so many Friends, that he might Land when he would; which

the Company diſapprov'd, and ſaid, *That he was no Friend to King* James, *who would adviſe ſo.* He depos'd further, That every Man who was there, and the Priſoner at the Bar in particular, ſaid to *Charnock*, *You may go to King* James *with this Meſſage*; and that the Priſoner lean'd upon the Table when he ſaid ſo.

Then the Council endeavour'd to take off Mr. *Goodman*'s Evidence; and for that end, they did in the firſt place bring in the Record of a Conviction againſt him, for having promis'd 40 Guinea's to one *Amadi* an *Italian*, to mix two Flasks of *Florence* Wine with Poiſon, and to give the ſame to *Henry* Duke of *Grafton*, and *George* Duke of *Northumberland*, for which he was fin'd 1000 *l.* and it appear'd by the ſame Record, that he had ſatisfied the ſame the next Term following.

In the next place they call'd one Mr. *Edwards*, whom they had Subpœna'd and brought from Priſon by a *Habeas Corpus*: He depos'd, That he ask'd *Goodman*, What Mr. *Cook* was to be Try'd for? And that he told him, *It was for ſending* Charnock *over to* France, *and that Capt.* Porter *and himſelf were to be the Evidence againſt him: That* Cook *had Sworn againſt him the ſaid* Goodman, *and that either* Cook *or he muſt ſuffer.* Adding, *That it was a fooliſh thing to be Hang'd, for all that would be ſaid of them was,* They Hang'd handſomly, or Dy'd bravely.

Then

Then *Cranford*, one of the Drawers at the *King's Head*, Swore, He did not see *Goodman* there, till some of the Company went away; and a little after, that he did not see *Goodman* at all, but own'd, that he was not constantly in the Room, and that he waited upon another Company.

Hunly swore to the same effect, but with this difference, That he attended no other Company, and went frequently up and down Stairs, and never saw *Goodman*.

Cook, the Master of the House, swore also to the same effect, and that eight Persons, whereof the Prisoner was one, Din'd there; and that he was six times in the Room after Dinner, and did not remember that he saw *Goodman* there. Then the Prisoner ask'd Mr. *Goodman*, if ever he had heard him speak ten Words, or had ever been in his Company but that time? Who answer'd, That he had been with him at the *Cock* in *Covent Garden*, and that what he had sworn against him was true.

The Prisoner's Man deposed, That his Master was taken at his *Father's House*, and in his own Room, three Weeks after the Discovery.

Mr. *Hammond* deposed, That he took Mr. *Cook* to be a pious, conscientious Man; that he understood he never rose nor went to Bed without saying Prayers; *That he had heard him express himself with abhorrence of the* French *Invasion, and wish our Fleet good Success against* France.

Then the King's Counsel made their Observations upon the Prisoner's Evidence, *viz.* That *Edwards* was committed on suspicion of Treason, as to be concerned in the *Assassination*. And that the other Witnesses were not positive as to Mr. *Goodman*'s not having been there, but only not that they remembred.

Upon which Monsieur *de la Rue* was call'd, who depos'd, That he knew *Edwards* at St. *Germain*'s three Years ago, and that he told him, He was Captain to the late Viscount of *Dundee* in *Scotland*; that he us'd to go by the Name of *Douglas*, and that he brought the List of *Charnock*'s *Assassins* to Mr. *Porter*, of which himself was one, by the Name of *Douglas*.

Then Capt. *Porter* depos'd, That *Edwards* was in *Charnock*'s List, that *Goodman* was there before any of the Company went away; likewise, That he himself brought *Goodman* up to the Room, and that he staid at least two Hours after Dinner, *&c.*

Mr. *Goodman* being confronted with *Cock*, depos'd, That though he pretended not to know him, yet he had been several times at his House, and that very Day of the Consult being ill, he ask'd him for some Brandy; which *Cock* told him, he should have as good as any in *England*; whereupon *Goodman* ask'd him, What he would take for a Gallon of it? But *Cock* depos'd, That he remembred nothing of it.

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The Prisoner's Council made Observations upon *Goodman*'s Evidence, and insisted upon its not being Credible, because opposed by three others, and his being Convicted of the Poysoning Design above-mentioned, *&c.* and the Prisoner himself pleaded the tenour of his Conversation, his Love to his Country, and the Quiet of his Country, his willingness to take the Oath to the Government, if tendred, and took God to Witness, with many direful Imprecations, that he was no way concern'd in the Invasion; and said, That he must declare so at his Death.

The King's Council, and the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, answer'd the Objections of the Prisoner's Council to this effect, That if *Goodman*'s Evidence was false, then *Porter*'s must be so too, though it had been own'd to be true by Dying Criminals executed for the same *Treason*; that as for the Poysoning Design, it appear'd by the Satisfaction accepted next *Term* after, that the Evidence against him, on that hand, was not thought credible; but however, he now stood pardon'd; and his being concern'd in the Design to Assassinate the King, which was an higher Crime, not rendring him an illegal Witness, much less could the Poysoning Design do it. That as to *Goodman*'s swearing to save his own Life, Mr. *Cook* and he had both of them reason to be afraid of each other, according as either of them should be made use of as Evidence by the

Government, seeing they were both Guilty: That the Drawers own'd, that Mr. *Goodman* might come thither, and they not know it; and that both their Evidence, and their Master's, was Negative. That as to the Character given of the Prisoner, and his solemn Denial of the Fact, the like had been given to others in the same Circumstances: It appearing upon Record, that Sir *John Friend* had attended Prayers for the present Government, and had solemnly Denied at his *Tryal*, what he after wards confessed. And just as the Jury was withdrawing, the Lord Chief Justice recall'd 'em, to observe, That whereas the Prisoner's Counsel alledg'd, That the Evidence pitch'd upon *May*, because if they had pitch'd upon *April*, that would have been within the Pardon; and if they had pitch'd on *June*, they were in *Newgate* for the Riot: The Drawers had confirm'd what was said by the King's Evidence, that the *Meeting* was in *May*, or to that effect: And the Jury withdrawing about an Hour, they brought the Prisoners in Guilty.

Capt. *Knightley's Tryal* having been for some time delayed, by reason of a Mistake in the Indictment, and that being rectified, he was on the 20th of *May* brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, when the Court being sate, upon his Arraignment he pleaded Guilty to the Indictment; wherein he acknowledged himself Guilty of the intended Assassination and Invasion, as layed and char-

charged on him in the Indictment, and mentioned against him in several *Tryals*, saying, He had much Remorse of Conscience about undertaking to Enterprize so wicked a Design, earnestly entreating the whole Court to interceed with His Majesty to extend His Grace and Mercy towards him; whereupon he was remanded to *Newgate*, and ordered to be brought to the Bar of the Court, to receive Sentence, which since he has received, as in Cases of *High Treason*; so that in the close of all we may see the matter so plain, that nothing in the World can be more apparent.

Since these Proceedings, divers Persons, who were taken up as suspected to be ill affected to the Government, and no Prosecution against them, have by the Lords Justices been discharged out of several Prisons in and about *London*, &c.

Mr. *Peter Cook*, having been reprieved from time to time, at his earnest Supplication, and that of his Friends at home, and such as attended his Majesty the last Campagne beyond the Seas, with his much appearing sorrow for being concerned in so bad a matter, has hitherto gained a respite from the Execution of the Sentence that passed upon him at the *Old-Bayly*, but how fair he may stand for a Pardon, we determine not; however, this may be something of comfort, that he is fallen into the hands of a Prince composed of mercy and tenderness, which are even extended to his Enemies, when they

ſhow ſincere ſigns of true penitency for their Miſdoings.

No diligence was wanting to ſecure the Government in Peace and Tranquility at home, to detect ſuch Traytors as yet abſconded, and to have an eye on ſuch as were noted to be diſaffected, and a Proclamation being iſſued out, for the Apprehending Sir *John Fenwick*, Baronet, accuſed upon Oath, to be deeply concerned in the Plot, and Conſpiracy of *January* and *February* 1695. He after divers Attempts to make his Eſcape beyond the Seas, and a diligent ſearch after him, was Apprehended, and brought to Town under a ſtrong Guard, and upon Examination, commited to *Newgate*, where he had notice to prepare for his Tryal, and an Indictment was prefered againſt him at the *Seſſions* of Oyer and Terminer, held at the *Old-Baily*, on the 28th of *May* laſt, wherein he was charged with High-Treaſon, in Compaſſing, and Imagining the death and deſtruction of his Majeſty, and adhering to the King's Enemies, by conſulting and agreeing with divers Perſons, (whereof ſome had been attainted, and others not then brought to their Tryals, for the ſaid Treaſons) to ſend one *Robert Charnock* to the late King *James* in *France*, to Incite and Encourage the French King to Invade this Kingdom with an armed Force, by promiſing to joyn with, and aſſiſt him with Men and Arms upon ſuch an Invaſion, &c.

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This, and other matters to the same effect, was sworn to by Captain *Porter*, and *Cardell Goodman*; and it had appeared at the Evidence on the Tryals of some already Convicted, that Sir *John* had been deeply engaged in this Business, and was at the Meetings, and Consults, and it appeared he had, or was to levy Horse, and joyn the Enemy on their landing, being himself to Command them, and shewed a great forwardness in the Undertaking; but however, at this time, his Tryal was delayed from time to time upon his repeated Promises of making a full and ingenuous Confession of the Design, or Conspiracy against his Majesty's Person, or Government, and of the Persons concerned therein.

Whilest these things happened, *Cardell Goodman*, one of the principal Evidences against Sir *John Fenwick*, having obtained his liberty upon Bail, instead of doing his duty, in remaining and standing firm to the evidence he had delivered, and what farther he might have done for the Service of the Government, withdrew himself, and though Proclamation was issued out, with a reward for Apprehending him, we do not hear that he is yet taken: And much about this time, one *Berkenhead* mentioned in one of the Proclamations, as deeply concern'd in this wicked trayterous Conspiracy, and for which he had been a considerable time confined in *Newgate*, in order to his Tryal, made his escape, and a Proclamation was issued out

for the Apprehending him; and endeavours were uſed with Captain *Porter*, to withdraw himſelf, and mony given him to that purpoſe, but he ingenuouſly diſcovered the Tampering with him, ſecuring both the mony and the Perſon, which put a ſtop to their farther tempting him, by the exemplary puniſhment inflicted on the Offender, &c. So that by this, we ſee, there are not ſome wanting, that by under-hand practices labour to ſtifle one of the horrideſt Conſpiracies the Nation has known, and at the relation whereof, Infidels have already bluſhed, and look on with horrour and deteſtation; and it has all along been ſeen, that when the Deſigns of the Papiſts have failed in the intended Execution, how induſtruous they have been to palliate and ſmooth them over, and if poſſible, to currupt or get the Evidence out of the way, or if that could not be done, to ſham their Plots on innocent Perſons, by that means hoping to ſtifle them, or caſt the Odium from themſelves, which plainly appeared in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; when by turning the Current by Policies and Stratagems, they brought deſtruction on many worthy and loyal Perſons, and created a miſunderſtanding between the King and his good Subjects, all which tended to no more, than they were bare-facedly bringing to paſs in the next Reign, *viz.* To alter Religion, ſubvert the Laws, and enſlave our Liberties; ſo that by ſuch kind of devices, though Sir *John Fenwick*'s Tryal,

al,(who had raſhly,and unadviſedly,according to what was ſworn againſt him, joined with the Enemies of the Nation, to bring about their pernicious Purpoſes and Deſigns, by Blood, and a number of Calamities that muſt have attended it) had come on as it was deſigned, he muſt have thought himſelf ſecure from danger, by deficiency of Evidence, as the Law requires, upon *Goodman*'s being withdrawn, which the Conſequence makes out,abated that apparent willingneſs, to make a free and ingenuous diſcovery,that before he ſeemed inclinable to, tho it proved but little to his Advantage, as will appear hereafter, but rather rendered him altogether unfit for that great Clemency and Indulgence, that had ſo long been extended towards him.In the mean while,the King having ſecured the Affairs in *Flanders*, and well ſettled all things,returned in Safety, to the joy,and ſatisfaction of his loving Subjects; and the Parliament meeting according to the time appointed, His Majeſty in a Gracious Speech, among other things, acquainted both Houſes, that ſome Overtures toward a Peace had been propoſed: However, the beſt way to treat with *France*, was with the Sword in our Hands, *&c.* Whereupon, they unanimouſly Agreed, To ſtand by, and aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes, and raiſe a ſufficient Supply for the carrying on the War, *&c.* This, no doubt, gave another Start to our Enemies, and ſet them back in their Account;

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ſo that every thing now looking with a propitious Aſpect towards the Good and Tranquility of the Government.

And one thing more memorably Occurs, not improper to be inſerted in this Hiſtory, to the laſting Honour of the Loyal Citizens of *London*, *viz.* Preſented ſome time before the meeting of the Parliament, to their Repreſentatives, Members of that Auguſt Aſſembly, in theſe Words:

We the Citizens of this City, conſidering that the Parliament is ſuddenly to meet, and ſeriouſly reflecting on the continual Endeavours of a bloody and diſconted Party, who truſting upon the King's Clemency, and the Impunity they have hitherto met with, conſpired to Aſſaſſinate His Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and to overturn the Government, in order to Subject us under the Yoak of France; *the dread of which, has made an irreparable Wound in the credit of this Nation, and has had a full influence upon our Trade; we thought we could no longer keep ſilence upon ſo importunate an Occaſion, whilſt we behold our Religion, our Eſtates, our Liberties, and all that is moſt dear to us, in evident danger, but, that it was our Duty to declare our great Zeal and Affection for the King, and our firm Reſolution to aid and aſſiſt him with our Lives and Fortunes, againſt his Enemies, and the Enimies of the Nation, and to uſe our utmoſt endeavour to eſtabliſh his Glory and our own Happineſs.*

And

And because we have reason to believe, that the best, or rather the only means to preserve the King's Person, and settle the Government, is thoroughly to examine, in full Parliament, the last Conspiracy: We make it our earnest Request, That you will use your Endeavours, so soon as the Parliament shall meet, to procure the Examination of this detestable Plot, to the end, that the Conspirators, who have hitherto made it their business, not only to hold Correspondence with our Enemies, that so our Effects, and Merchants Ships might fall under their Hands, but also to undermine and ruin the best of Governments, may be discovered; without which, we presume to tell ye, That all other Expedients for the security of his Majesty's Person, and the Kingdom, will produce but little effects.

And now Sir *John Fenwick*, instead of a free and ingenuous Confession of his knowledge as to the Conspiracy, having contrived false and scandalous Papers, as his Informations, reflecting on the fidelity of several noble Peers, and divers Members of the House of Commons, and others, only by Hearsay, and contriving thereby to undermine the Government, and create a jealousie between the King and his Subjects, and to stifle the real Conspiracy; *Russel* acquainted the House of Commons, That his Majesty had been pleased to let his Council know what Proceedings had been against Sir *John Fenwick*, and to have the Papers of

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his Informations read before them; that in thoſe Papers ſeveral Perſons of Quality were named, and amongſt others himſelf, and that his Majeſty had given him leave to ſay this, and to Mr. *Secretary*, to lay the Papers before the Houſe, if they ſhould think fit to call for them; and two Papers of Sir *John Fenwick*'s Informations were delivered by Mr. *Secretary*, and read, and thereupon he was ordered to be brought in Cuſtody from *Newgate*, and that no Perſon ſhould be permitted to ſpeak with him by the way, or to give any Paper to him, or receive any one from him; and accordingly the ſame day, being the ſixth of *November* 1696, he was brought to the Bar, and acquainted, That the Houſe underſtood he had ſhewed ſome inclination to make a Diſcovery of the Practices and Deſigns of the Enemies of the Government, and that now he had an opportunity for the ſame; and they did require him to make a full and ingenuous Diſcovery to them; whereupon Sir *John* returned ſuch Anſwers, as the honourable Houſe (after being ſeveral times call'd in) conceived to be only Excuſes; he was afterwards called in again, and required peremptorily to make ſuch Diſcovery, which he refuſing to do, and being withdrawn,

It was reſolved, That the Papers read in the morning, as Sir *John Fenwick*'s Informations, reflecting on ſeveral noble Peers, divers Members of that Houſe, and others, only by Hearſay, were falſe and ſcandalous, and

and a Contrivance to undermine the Government, and create Jealouſies beween the King and his Subjects, in order to ſtifle the real Conſpiracy: And hereupon a Bill was reſolved on, to be brought in to Attaint Sir *John Fenwick* of High-Treaſon; and ſo he was remanded to *Newgate*; and ſoon after, upon his prayer, Councel was aſſigned him, to adviſe with him; and being fully heard, to all that could be alledged in his behalf, the Bill, according to the regular proceedings, paſſed the Houſe, and was carryed up to the Lords for their Concurrance, where all that could be alledged in his behalf being heard with the moſt deliberate conſideration, it likewiſe paſſed againſt him; and his Majeſty coming to the Houſe of Peers on the ---- of *January*, gave the Royal Aſſent to it, whereby he ſtood attainted of High-Treaſon, in compaſſing, and imagining the death and deſtruction of his Majeſty, and by adhering to his Majeſty's Enemies, by conſulting and agreeing with ſeveral Perſons (whereof ſome have been already attainted, and others not yet brought to their Tryals, for the ſaid Treaſons) at ſeveral meetings to ſend *Robert Charnock*, ſince attainted and executed of High-Treaſon, in conſpiring to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty, (whom God long preſerve) to the late King *James* in *France*, to incite and encourage the French King to Invade this Kingdom with an armed Force, by promiſing to join with, and aſſiſt him with Men and Arms upon ſuch Invaſion, of

all

all which Treaſon, he is, by the ſaid Act, declared Guilty; in which alſo is contained other matters more at large.

His Majeſty alſo ſigned another Act, to Attaint ſuch Perſons concerned in the late horrid Conſpiracy to Aſſaſſinate his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, as are fled, unleſs they render themſelves to Juſtice, and for continuing ſeveral others of the ſaid Conſpirators in Cuſtody, the ſubſtance of which is this:

That if *Sir G. Berkley*, --- *Johnſon*, alias *Harriſon*, --- *Durant*, alias *Durance*, *Michael Hare*, Major *George Holmes*, *Phillip Hanford*, alias *Brown*, *Richard Richardſon*, *John Maxwel*, --- *Boyalſ*, --- *Pluden*, and --- *Hargate*, ſhall not before the 25 of *March*, 1697, render themſelves to the Lord Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench, or to one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State, in order to their Tryals, for the Treaſon whereof they are accuſed, they ſhall ſtand convicted, and attainted of High-Treaſon, ſuffer the pains of death, and incur all Forfeitures, Penalties, and Diſabilities as Traytors convicted and attainted of High-Treaſon.

And whereas Counſellor *John Bernard*, *Robert Meldrum*, *James Chambers*, and *Robert Blackbourn*, have been committed, and ſtill in Cuſtody in *Newgate*, for the ſaid Conſpiracy and Treaſon: it is Enacted, That they, and ſuch other Perſons who ſhall hereafter render themſelves, or ſhall be apprehended,

prehended, and against whom there shall be Evidence upon Oath, of the barbarous and bloody Conspiracy, of the Assassinating the Person of his Sacred Majesty, shall be detained and kept in Custody without Bail or Mainprise, until the first day of *January* 1697, unless they shall be sooner Bailed by order of Council, signed by six of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council.

After these Acts had passed the Royal Assent, Sir *John Fenwick* continuing in *Newgate*, under the attainder of High-Treason, though some solicitations were not wanting on his behalf for sparing-mercy, he at length had notice they were rejected, and that he must prepare for death, having the favour allowed him of an honourable one, *viz.* to be beheaded, at which he seemed much concerned, and accordingly seriously reflected on the little time he had to continue in this World: The first orders being for his Execution on a Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, the 23 of *January*, but upon the humble supplication of his Lady to the House of Peers for longer time, they became Intercessors to his Majesty to respite him till the 28th of the same Month; his Lady and a Minister having free access to him at all seasonable times.

The day of his Execution being come, he prepared himself to go with the Sheriffs, after taking leave of his Lady, and about ten in the morning was, in a mourning Coach, conveyed with a strong Guard of Horse and Foot

to *Tower hill*, when paſſing through the crowds of the Spectators to the ſcaffold, which was hung in mourning, he mounted the ſteps, and was there attended by three Divines, *viz.* Doctor *White*, and two others; then he ſaluted the other Miniſters and the Sheriffs, and then kneeling down, the Doctor prayed with him for a time, after which they roſe up; and Sir *John Friend* pulling a Paper out of his pocket, demanded of the Doctor, if he ſhould ſay any thing, who replyed, He need not, but only deliver his Paper: Then turning to the Sheriff, he ſaid, Mr. *Sheriff*, *here is a Paper*, *I deſire it may be printed*; whereupon the Sheriff told him, he would acquaint the King with it; and ſo having deliver'd his Paper, he called his Man, who attended to undreſs him, which done, ſo far as was neceſſary, he call'd for the Executioner, and gave him money in lieu of his Cloaths that ſtill remained on his Body, and then prayed by himſelf for a ſhort ſpace on his knees, ſo riſing up, he took his leave of Dr. *White* and the other Miniſters, as alſo of the Sheriffs, and deſired he might try the Block, which was covered with black Velvet; then upon the Executioner's requeſt to forgive him, he told him he need not ask him forgiveneſs, for he had freely forgiven all Men, biding him not ſtrike till he heard him ſay, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul*; adding, *I may riſe*, *do not ſtrike before that*; then kneeling down, he roſe again, and his Man putting his Waſtcoat-collar lower, he kneel-

kneeled down again, and after having pray-
d a while, he uttered the Signal-words,
hereupon the Executioner, at one blow,
vered his Head from his Body, and held
up to be seen by the Spectators in the u-
al manner.

His Body being given by his Majesty's
unty to his Relations, that, with the Head,
as put up in a Coffin covered with Velvet,
nd brought back in a mourning Hearse, in
rder to its Interment, which was accord-
gly performed, with moderate decency, a
w days after.

As for the Character of this unfortunate Gentleman, I need say little, being of so eminent a Family, that he was known to most Persons, especially of note, in *England*, Marrying a very loving and virtuous Lady, who to the last assisted him all that lay in her power. He had some time been a Collonel of Horse under the late King, and by that chargeable Office, and other means, much impaired his Estate, which, it is supposed, he thought one way or other to have retrieved by this Undertaking, had it succeeded to his wish; however, being precautious and doubtful of the event, it is said, he had made it over, or the greatest part of it, for an annual sum of Money to himself and his Lady, during their lives.

The Paper he delivered at his Execution, as we find it printed, take in the following words:

Speak-

SPeaking nor Writing was never my Talent; I shall therefore give a very short, but faithful Account. First, Of my Religion; and next, What I suffer most innocently for, to avoid the Calumnies I may reasonably expect my Enemies will cast upon me when Dead, since they have most falsly and maliciously aspersed me, whilst under my Misfortunes.

As for my Religion; I was brought up in the Church of England, *as it is Established by Law, and have ever professed it; tho, I confess, I have been an unworthy Member of it, in not living up to the strict and excellent Rules thereof, for which I take shame to myself, and humbly ask forgiveness of God: I come now to Die in that Communion, trusting, as an humble and hearty Penitent, to be received by the Mercy of God, through the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour.*

My Religion taught me my Loyalty, which, I bless God, is untainted; and I have ever endeavoured, in the Station wherein I have been placed, to the utmost of my power, to support the Crown of England, *in the true and lineal course of Descent, without interruption.*

As for what I am now to Die, I call God to witness, I went not to that Meeting in Leaden-Hall-street *with any such intention, as to Invite King* James *by Force to Invade this Nation; nor was I myself provided with either Horse or Arms, or engaged for any number of Men, or gave particular consent for any such Invasion, as is most falsly Sworn against me.*

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I do also declare, in the presence of God, That I knew nothing of King James his coming to Calais, nor of any Invasion intended from thence, till it was publickly known; and the only Notion I had that something might be attempted, was from the Thoulon Fleet coming to Brest.

I also call God to witness, That I received the knowledge of what is contained in those Papers that I gave to a Great Man that came to me in the Tower, both from Letters and Messages that came from France; and he told me, when I read them to him, that the Prince of Orange had been acquainted with most of those things before.

I might have expected Mercy from that Prince, because I was Instrumental in saving his Life; for when, about April 95, an Attempt formed against him, came to my knowledge, I did partly by Dissuasions, and partly by Delays, prevent that Design; which, I suppose, was the reason that the last Villainous Project was concealed from me.

If there be any Persons whom I have injured in Word or Deed, I heartily pray their Pardon, and beg of God to Pardon those who have injured me; particularly those who with great Zeal have sought my Life, and brought the Guilt of my Innocent Blood upon this Nation, no Treason being prov'd upon me.

I return my most hearty Thanks to those noble and worthy Persons who gave their Assistance, by their opposing this Bill of Attainder; without which, it had been impossible I could have

have fallen under the Sentence of Death: God bless them and their Posterity; tho, I am fully satisfied, they pleaded their own Cause while they defended mine.

I pray God to bless my True and Lawful Sovereign King James, *the Queen, and Prince of* Wales, *and restore him and his Posterity to his Throne again, for the Peace and Prosperity of this Nation, which is impossible to prosper till the Government is settled upon a right Foot.*

And now, O God, I do with all humble Devotion commend my Soul into thy Hands the great Maker and Preserver of Men, and Lover of Souls; beseeching thee, that it may be always dear and precious in thy sight through the Merits of my Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Thus we see when Man proposes, God disposes of things as he pleases, and disappoints the Contrivances and Purposes of such as design the disturbance of these Kingdoms; which should be a Discouragement to any further Attempts, considering the King and Parliament are so firmly united to quell intestine Attemps, and oppose all Invaders; witness the liberal Supplies they have given this Sessions, for a vigorous War against *France*, notwithstanding the Overtures of Peace, and what towards it is in agitation having well considered that part of his Majesty's Speech, wherein he prudently declares

clares, *The best way to treat with* France, *is with the Sword in our Hands:* For plenty of Money beng raised, which is the sinews of War; if the Treaty produce it not, the King will be the better enabled to do himself, and the Confederates Reason and Justice by the power of the Sword.

FINIS.

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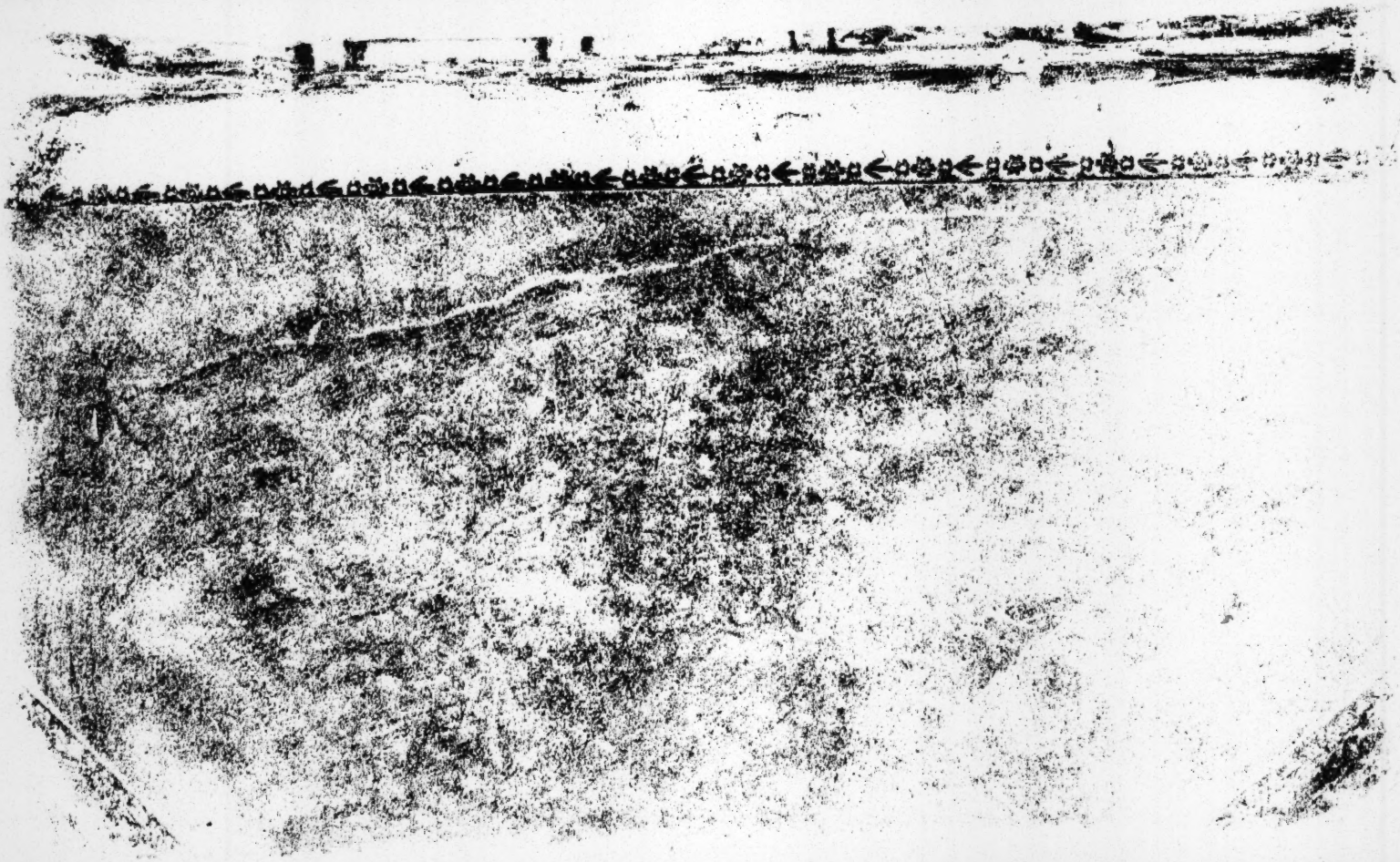
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